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— THE —
Religion
— IN THE —
Labour Movement

— by —

Rt. Hon. G. N. BARNES, M.P.	EINAR LI (Norway).
Rt. Hon. A. HENDERSON, M.P.	C. NORLEV (Denmark).
GEORGE LANSBURY.	S. SIRENIUS (Finland).
BISHOP GORE.	Senator VINCK (Belgium).
Dr. ALEX. IRVINE.	B. P. WADIA (India).

Ald. BANTON, THOS. CAPE, M.P., FATHER HOPKINS, BASIL
MATHEWS, Ald. SHEPPARD, Rev. TOM SYKES, R. WESTROPE,
And other Speakers, at the . . .

International Conference
on Labour and Religion

Held in BROWNING HALL, Walworth, London, 1919.
September 1—5, 1919.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—WHAT LED UP TO THE CONFERENCE.

The ascendancy of Labour in the life of to-day is obvious. Announced a generation ago, disbelieved, then derided, now dreaded, it is everywhere tangibly present. It holds in its hands the levers of the subtle mechanism which supplies our food, our shelter, and every means of communication. The world, always dependent upon Labour, was not aware of the fact. Now it is aware: and Labour is aware.

Side by side with this newborn ascendancy, there stands an ancient and august Interest which claims now, as ever, to dominate not

The Challenge of the Times. Labour alone, but every other phase and function of the life of man, because relating him to that which is greater than the world and vaster than the universe. And the question asserts itself: How do these powers stand to each other to-day? What is the mutual relation of Labour and Religion?

Too often the relation is conceived in a very external way. As was once the case with direction in the State and in industry, so religion is supposed to be imposed or urged upon the working classes by their social "betters." And working men who have long attained their majority and renounced tutelage in things political and economic, strangely retain the old attitude in matters of faith and worship.

The Proletariat and Bourgeois Religion. Religion is to them a sort of product manufactured in church and chapel and college, and supplied to them from these centres, and they receive it or reject it as a thing supplied from without. On the Continent religion has been too largely the bulwark of the upper and official classes, a convenient department of state for the buttressing of the established order. In this country, thanks to the variety and vitality of the Free Churches, the official grip has been much slackened. But even in this country, whatever be the numbers of the working class in attendance on this or that denomination, organised religion has been to a very great extent under middle and upper class direction. English religion has been painfully bourgeois. It has rarely or never been frankly proletarian.

Now, when Labour is every day becoming more self-conscious, we cannot expect it to continue in religious vassalage to the classes whose yoke in other spheres it is resolutely breaking.

A Terrible Outcome of Middle Class Sway. Nor can the intelligent working man overlook one very terrible fact. For well nigh a hundred years,

since the first Reform Bill, the church and chapel-going people have had absolute political and industrial control of the people of Great Britain; and at the close of their ascendancy what do we find? Nearly one-third of the people insufficiently fed, insufficiently clad and insufficiently housed, slums blotting our cities and villages, and at the same time unprecedented aggregations of wealth. The planting of a few missions, more or less imperfectly equipped, in the back streets of our great cities, or the establishment of a few remedial agencies here or there, cannot for a moment outweigh the damning fact. The religion of the

middle and upper classes has apparently allowed them to leave things to come to this dreadful pass. There may be no talk of Bolshevising religion—or excluding the propertied classes from all control and direction of religious organisations. But the working man may be less than ever disposed to acquiesce in the religious rule of the bourgeoisie.

Self-conscious Labour, repelled by the alien atmosphere of bourgeois religion, has begun to inquire whether within itself there is not found something of the nature of a religion to

Quest After a satisfy its needs. Long ago German Social Democ-
Proletarian Faith.crats discussed the question whether there was need of religion in the Social Democracy, and seemed to agree that there was. But they differed on the question whether the spirit and principles of the Social Democracy already supplied the desired religion. Some were content with what they had. Others insisted that the element of unconditioned obligation was still wanting. Pastor Kutter, of Zürich, boldly declared that the so-called Churches were Churches of Mammon, while the so-called godless Social Democracy was the Church of the Living God.

In this country the inner religion of the Labour Movement has found notable expression in the series of Labour Weeks held in

Browning Hall and elsewhere, from 1910 forward,
Labour Weeks, in which the foremost leaders of British Labour
1910-1915. appealed to the workers of the world for personal

religion as essential to the achievement of their social ideals. The series culminated in 1915 in an International Labour Week, when, along with the spokesmen of British Labour, M. Vandervelde, M. Longuet, Mr. Einar Li (Norwegian) and Hans Wirz (Swiss) celebrated the international reconciliation of Labour and Religion. So was focussed and expressed what is being ever more widely known as the Labour Movement in Religion.

Within ten days of the close of the International Labour Week, a programme was launched in Browning Hall which offered to the newly reconciled forces of Labour and Religion a

The League to common objective in the Abolition of War at the
Abolish War. Third Hague Conference. A year's agitation led to the adherents of this programme uniting in the

League to Abolish War, with Mr. Barnes as Chairman. The measures proposed by this League were then far beyond the programme of the other and kindred societies, but remarkably anticipated both the later demands of President Wilson and the actual course of events. When therefore the Paris Conference, representing the Governments of four-fifths of mankind, gave its preliminary approval on February 14th, 1919, to the League of Nations Covenant,

a special thanksgiving service was held in Browning
League of Hall, in recognition of the wonderful confirmation
Nations with thus given to the programme launched on the world
Labour four years previously. Not less strikingly, the work
Department. of Mr. Barnes in creating the Labour Department
of the League of Nations, marked the opening of
a new era in the world's life.

So much being achieved, the Settlement became gravely exercised with the question: Was it called to take up the line of work marked out by successive Labour Weeks up to four years ago? Was it called to set about promoting world-wide Labour Evangelism, as it had promoted and helped to pioneer to anticipated success the movement towards world-unity? After some weeks of deliberation, the principal workers in Browning Hall arrived at the conclusion that the Settlement was so called. But what was it to do next? On March 9th the answer was: We do not know; but if we are willing, the next step will be made clear to us.

Decisively The Settlement had not long to wait. On the day following (March 10th) arrived this solemn adjuration from Sigfrid Sirenus, writing in Helsingfors, Finland, on February 19th:—

Answered. “I am going to make to you a suggestion which I beg you to consider very earnestly. It is now without doubt the great moment for the democracies of the world, and the great opportunity of the Labour Movement. Hitherto the Labour, especially the Socialistic Labour world, has been in political opposition. Now it is to be a governing factor. The democracies of the world—think of Germany!—are now standing before tremendous tasks, and they are going to make the chief influence in the life of the nations. Of what kind will that influence turn out to be? The schooling which the democracies of the Continent of Europe have received from the materialistic Social Democracy does not promise well. Is the future of Europe to be built without the inspiration that comes from the religion of Christ?”

Labour Now in Power. “Now the Labour Movement in Religion is going to have a greater work to do than ever before. And those of the British Labour leaders who have hitherto been working for the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ among the democratic masses seem now to have a still greater and more pressing duty to perform in the same direction. And some of the leaders of organised Christianity should unite with them in the same effort. The centre of this work for evangelising de-Christianised Christendom ‘in this generation,’ mainly through the same class among which Christ had His main support, namely, through the workers of the world, should be the Robert Browning Settlement in Watworth.

Task for Christian Labour Men. “The practical point to which I wish to come is that you should arrange and convene at the earliest possible date, in the coming summer, or at latest in the early autumn, an International Conference on Labour and Religion on the same lines as the International Labour Week of 1915, but on a larger scale, and with the purpose of passing resolutions upon some of the chief matters in the programme. Then the Conference should appoint a Continuation Committee to take in hand the propaganda in the different countries.”

The purpose thus disclosed was accepted. It was confirmed by

the pronounced support of some of the foremost leaders of Labour at home and abroad.

The International Conference was accordingly convened.

It was no easy undertaking. At one time it seemed as if it were set upon by an organised host of difficulties and disappointments.

**A Dread
Offensive.** The change of the Trade Union Congress at Glasgow from the first to the second week of September compelled the Conference to change from the second week to the first, with consequent loss of speakers

and numbers. The penalty of seeking the presence and counsel of the chieftains of British Labour in these troublous times had to be paid; half a dozen expected speakers were put out of action by the unforeseen claims of militant Labour. For some time there was a doubt whether the renovation of Browning Hall would be so far completed as to admit of the Conference being held there. The aid of the Unseen Forces was invoked by a wide circle of friends.

In the end the faith was vindicated. The indications given to the Settlement beforehand were abundantly confirmed by the result.

II.—THE SPIRIT OF THE CONFERENCE.

Throughout the proceedings there was present a sense of a new beginning. It was as though the future had invaded and occupied the gathering. Perhaps the most manifest and at the same time the deepest distinction of the meetings was an experience of unity. This went much further than mere agreement of opinion. It lay in a region of feeling that was big with change. Men and women of different nationality, of different religions, East and West, seemed to feel themselves under a gracious constraint of common purpose and common hope. This influence made the negative more positive, the positive more tolerant, the iconoclast constructive. One felt that if the Conference had lived together for the week, amid great scenery, there would have been a more complete intermingling of thought and soul and a more compact unity. Not less noticeable was the world-wide horizon present to the minds of all. Europe was no longer the limit. All hearts beat with a new racial consciousness, which found repeated expression in the purpose of world-wide propaganda. And in these expansive and unitive and directive influences was felt the presence and the power of the Unseen Forces.

Along with other kindred tendencies this Conference was hailed as possibly destined to prove a dynamic agent in the long-desired spiritual renewal. The form under which that renewal will manifest itself will doubtless differ in the different races and in the different religions. In Christendom it may perhaps be awkwardly but effectively anticipated as the re-proletarianising of Christianity. In its earliest form the religion of the Nazarene was a proletarian faith. It declared that the Kingdom of God belongs to the poor. It prayed for the coming of the Kingdom "on earth as in heaven." Its Supreme Exponent was put to death by the bourgeoisie of His time. But He is the soul of social cohesion in the Labour Movement. In the elevation of His fellow-workers in every nation under heaven, His Spirit goes marching on.

F. H. S.

Browning Hall,
Walworth,
London, England.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1919.

After the Rev. H. T. Knight had led the meeting in saying the Lord's Prayer, Miss Miriam Barber read letters from the following:—

LETTERS.

M. Vandervelde: To my very keen regret, I cannot undertake to be in London at the beginning of September. A thousand regrets. Good success to your Conference, with which I sympathise keenly.

Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam: Being an ex-Salvationist, and still believing in the Gospel of Jesus Christ with my whole heart, I take a great interest in your movement.

Signor Borsa, *Il Secolo*, Milan: I sympathise with your movement, just as I do with all idealistic movements. Therefore I welcome your project.

Signor Romolo Murri, late Member of the Italian Parliament: The need of giving to the labouring class movements a religious spirit is especially great in Italy, where the religious conscience, overshadowed by clericalism and the political interests allied to it, is very poor and weak among all classes. I place myself willingly at your disposal, as also at that of the Committee, for whatever it may be possible for me to do.

Senator Vinck (Belgium): My opinion is that the great leaders of Socialism must take more interest in the moral questions, otherwise the waves of brutal materialism may sweep away the real conquests of humanity and civilisation. But one of the difficulties is to find the formula allowing the most progressive minds (especially in Latin countries, the Positivists) to join the movement, those who don't believe in revelation through anthropomorphic Divinity. I may believe in transcendental ethical principles without believing in Divine revelation. The great thing is to obtain that individuals and collectivities recognise that above their individuality exist some great principles, some ideals of perfectibility and perfections that are the real aims of our efforts, all our technicity being only the means to facilitate the progress and not the aim itself.

During the War, after the terrible disillusion of German cerebral and proud culture, I have started in Belgium a movement for moral education, the experiment of this non-moral culture appearing as an immense danger for humanity, and specially for the Socialist Labour Movement. If the Labour masses believe that violence is excused by success, that there are no transcendental principles, I felt already in 1915 that we would go to the most dangerous movements (afterwards Bolshevism).

Nathanael Beskow, Sweden: Our workers for the time are far more absorbed by economic or revolutionary questions than by religious. I am afraid that we here in Sweden should have very little contribution to give to an International Conference from the standpoint of organised Labour. What we have now to do is to try, by strong and patient work, to prepare the time when we shall have here in Sweden a Labour Movement in Religion grown up on our own national soil, and a little troop of religious Labour leaders.

Olaf Devik, a young and rising man of science, a member of the Social Democracy of Norway, in view of a cognate question: It seems as if the most pressing problem in the next time will be the economic transformation of the world. That will take place with the force of an elemental power of nature. In that transformation, which has begun with the Russian Revolution and the German Revolution, but surely will not be limited to these nations, the Christians who feel their social responsibility will have two duties: first they will have to fight for right and righteousness in the social struggle, and then they will have to preach the Gospel as never before, to remind men that one thing is the most important of all, more important than daily comfort and a six-hours-day. The present social birth will probably bring us most of these things which constitute material happiness. Then it will be the more important to tell men that the Kingdom of God does not consist in material things, but springs from the depths of the soul and connects this world with the next. Before the War the chief problem seemed to me to bring the Christians and Churches to see the social problem as a demand and a duty for them. After the War, with the

present evolution and revolution in view, it seems to me that the problem to some extent has been reversed. Now it is the problem to bring the proletariat, the workers of the world, to open their eyes to God and Christ. As the material revolution will go on with a velocity determined by the acceleration already reached and by the inertia of the masses, we can influence that process only to a small extent. The more important it is that the vital forces of Christianity be directed to that other point, the spiritual side of the Kingdom of God.

W. A. Appleton, Secretary to the General Federation of Trade Unions: If such a Conference could emphasise the old declaration that righteousness rather than resolution exalted a nation, it would be of inestimable value to the world at large.

Councillor Mellor, Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council: I would have liked to be with you. One feels that there is a bitterness of feeling growing that is bad for everybody. No real and lasting reforms can come out of hatred and uncharitableness, and the cultivation of a greater charity amongst us all is greatly to be desired. If your Conference shows how this can be cultivated, it will be a great contribution to a League of Peoples.

F. Chandler, J.P., late General Secretary of the Joiners' Union: Everything in Labour depends upon religion, by no other agency can the problems of Labour be seen in the right perspective by employers and employed, a safe and sure guide to its right solution, minus those heart-breaking and house-breaking disputes so prevalent throughout the world at the present time.

George A. Spencer, M.P.: I am heartily in sympathy. Labour divorced from religion and morality is destined to destruction.

Right Hon. W. Brace: I wish you a great success and spiritual blessing.

Rev. J. D. Robertson, Secretary to the Social Service Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland: Will you be good enough to convey to the Conference the heartiest greetings of the United Free Church of Scotland, and assure the representatives that we have the fullest sympathy with their aims?

The Perils to the Workers from Materialism ; by The Right Hon. G. N. BARNES, M.P.

My first duty is on behalf of Mr. Stead and the Council of Browning Hall to offer you a very hearty welcome to this Conference.

This old hall has, to my certain knowledge, during the last twenty-five years or thereabouts initiated some movements and helped a good many more towards social and industrial betterment. It has given a moral and spiritual stimulus to all good movements.

It has taken part in agitations for world peace and world unity. I hope and believe that the meetings about to be initiated during this week will be quite up to the best record of Browning Hall. We are beginning a series of meetings this morning, and it will be continued all the week, at which you will discuss or examine a problem which has been examined and re-examined, I suppose, ever since man began to question the why and wherefore of his being. You are going to discuss the problem of the relation between mind and matter, between the spirit and the substance. I am afraid that I can give but little real contribution to that examination. And for two reasons. First, I feel that it involves an examination of the faith that we live by, together with the faults and follies of mankind—and I am conscious that a very fair share of the latter can be laid at my own door. And second, my life is absorbed day by day in practical problems, and little time is therefore left for abstractions.

But there are a few outstanding things to-day to which attention might be called, and which bear upon the question that is down for discussion to-day.

The War an Object Lesson. The subject to-day is on the evils or dangers of Materialism. And it seems to me that never in the whole history of the world has there been a more striking illustration of the evils or dangers of materialism than during the last few years. For many years the nations had been building

up armies, they had thought only in terms of disciplined material forces. The Central Empires, especially, had embarked upon a career of materialism pure and simple, and hoped thereby to carve out their way to greater dominion. Behind the glamour and show of civilisation there lurked that hideous thing called materialism, which knows nothing of right or wrong, and cares as little. Right and wrong had, to a large extent, got into abeyance. The result of it all is that the world has been bathed in blood and has been brought almost to the verge of bankruptcy, just as all previous attempts of the same kind had ended. After all, the War has proved that there is something in mankind that cannot be bludgeoned. There is something that guns cannot kill.

But, after all, this latest exploit of militarism is only the flower and culmination of a hard and acrid philosophy of life, which had taught that every-

The Cult of Selfishness. one was to seek his own welfare and that somehow or other it would work out in the welfare of everybody. Selfishness had become a cult. Enlightened self-interest, as it was called, was raised to the pinnacle of a creed. Even religion itself, organised religion, had to some extent become but an echo of individualistic teaching. For emphasis was laid on conventional personal rectitude and too little attention was paid to social justice. The Churches had lost their power, or how otherwise could they have tolerated a condition of things which was so obviously leading to a catastrophe? I am not laying the blame upon any particular Church or creed. As a matter of fact, we all, more or less, lived in a poisoned atmosphere, and so evil was allowed to flourish and come to fruition in the world-war.

And then, as you all know, once the War had been started, materialism brought other evils in its train. It had scarcely begun when profiteers saw

The Profiteers. in it a chance of material gain. You all remember the shipping deal, and the profiteering deals in food of all kinds, until the common-sense of the community asserted itself and set up the Food Ministry as some means of safety. But by that

time fabulous fortunes had been amassed by individuals out of the national extremity. And those fortunes, in the main, had been amassed by those who had little idea of social responsibility. Unlike the old landlord class, who, partly, perhaps, from pride of birth, partly from a sense of duty, always had some idea of doing something in the way of social amenity, the new wealthy class, or a great many of them, simply flaunted their wealth in the marketplace, exciting the envy or contempt, and sometimes a combination of both, of those who had to bear the burdens of the War. And these latter sometimes complained all the time, and sometimes conspired against the social order, and therefore the social fabric has been to some extent shaken by the friction and illwill and waste which have ensued.

And I am sorry to say that, amid a great deal which is encouraging, I think I can discern something now—even of a more menacing character coming up

A Struggle of Organisations. in our midst. We are getting accustomed now to a struggle of organisations instead of individuals. And that

struggle, unless it is well guided, may be even more hurtful, because more far reaching, in its results. If organisation is going to be used rightly, it ought to contribute to the common good and equalise the chances of life. Carlyle, as you remember, hailed organisation as the one thing which should guide all who would in future attempt to govern men. But Carlyle visualised organisation as something which was going to bring order and forethought and wise arrangement into our common life. He visualised it as something which would be guided by those who would have mutual regard for mutual interests. And in order to get that, organisation must be controlled by those who work for the common good. If organisation be lopsided, if organisation be controlled by those who are animated only by sectional considerations, then organisation may get a strangle-hold on a community and bring harm not only to others but to themselves as well. That, to my mind, is the danger which now confronts us. Some organisations seem to be getting under the control of those who have little idea of reciprocal service. Some of them,

I am afraid, on the Labour side are getting under the control of those who want to pull down the pillars of the State on the off-chance that something more to their liking will arise from the ruins. These, then, are the evils of materialism in the mass—they poison the springs of public life.

In some places, as you know, they have even brought violent revolution.

Now consider the case of the individual. I want you to consider especially the case of the worker. After all,

The Academic he is very largely guided by the public
Agitator. utterances of those who, at all events,
 I won't say are his natural leaders, but

who presume to be his leaders. Some of them, I am sorry to say, having been through Oxford or Cambridge or some other place where they go through the mill of academic teaching, think themselves superior persons, and pose before the world of Labour as guides, philosophers and friends to people who have got more commonsense than the guides and philosophers themselves. And I am afraid that they are having a dire effect upon the simple-minded workman. The workshop is getting quite a different place from what it used to be. I believe the happiest time of my life was in the workshop, and in the satisfaction of a job being well done. I, of course, knew that there was something radically wrong in the scheme of things. I knew all the time that the workman was not occupying that position in life to which he was entitled. I knew all the time that, after all, labour was the active factor in the production of all wealth, and that it could upset the community any time it thought proper. At the same time, I knew that no materialistic doctrine pure and simple could effect a change for the better in regard to the workman's life and condition. When I was in the workshop I worked as hard as one man could for greater leisure for the worker and for a better share in this world's goods, to which he was entitled, and there was a satisfaction in working for these things. But I never at any time believed that a doctrine of rancour and illwill would put things right. But that is just what is being believed now by a great number.

Here let me say I am not blaming the workman. Just think of the life that the workman has had to live, a life cribbed, cabined, and confined. He has **The Workman's** but little time to read, except the news-
Narrowed Life. paper. He has little chance of meeting people of refinement. He lives in mean streets all his life, while he is seeing others who have grown rich by speculation. And I cannot but confess he just jumps to the conclusion that life is all prizes for the lazy and blanks for the industrious. And all this is inevitable so long as there is that isolation in the world. All this is inevitable unless there is some helpful mutual contact between the workman and other classes, because in his isolation the workman becomes an easy prey of the man with the little knowledge, which is a dangerous thing.

And yet at the bottom of it all I believe the workman feels that there is something in life which wealth and possessions cannot give him. He feels that **His Deepest** eating and drinking and living in fine
Feeling. houses is not the end of all things. And he is right. Eating and drinking are only the beginning of things. Man, after all, is not a beast of prey. True, he wants his fill, but after that he wants companionship and co-operation, and he wants companionship and co-operation in such a way as to satisfy that subtle something in our nature which is in all of us and which ought to be the best of us.

But in order to get, he must give. As an old Scotch proverb says, "If you want to make friends, you must be friendly." So it is in regard to the **Need of** workman and other people. Just think
Friendliness. of those in your own experience who withhold such co-operation and goodwill, and on the other hand of those who play the better part. Which would you rather have as neighbours? Why, my friends, a world made up of the former would be a world unbearable. For my part, I want—and whatever the economic system may be under which we live it would make precious little difference—I want to live with those of goodwill and simplicity.

And here I should like to offer a tribute of respect to

the memory of a man who had all these characteristics, and who has been taken away from us

General Botha. during the last three days. I refer to

General Botha. I met him almost daily in the beginning of this year, I saw a good deal of him during the last year, and, of course, I knew of him a long time before that. I knew he was a man who could fight, if need be, on the battlefield for what he thought was right, but he was essentially a man of peace, a man large-hearted, tolerant and magnanimous. I was with him in council on the 19th, I think it was, or the 18th anniversary of the day when he and others signed the terms of peace in South Africa, after the South African War. He reminded us of it on the day, some two or three months ago. He applied the lesson, or asked us to apply the lesson, to the situation in which we were then placed. His influence then and all the time I knew him was for doing the right thing before using the strong arm; and doing the right thing meant for him loving mercy and walking humbly in all the things of life. He was modest and simple, as I have found all really great souls to be, and just the sort of man to make the world a better place for all of us to live in. That is the kind of man I want. That is the kind of man who must be increased and multiplied in order to make the world a better place for us to live in. That is the man that neither materialism nor the animosities that materialism causes can give in any number.

I do not say that the feeling of personal animosity is one of inferiority or superiority. Sometimes it is one and sometimes it is the other. But I do say

Live in Terms of Brotherhood. that we ought to live and think more in terms of brotherhood, of social sense, of education, and of knowledge. Illwill

and personal animosities must narrow the outlook and lower the man in his own estimation, whether he thinks in terms of inferiority or superiority.

And this applies equally to those apart from manual workers. They in many instances think, I believe, in terms of class, although they are not so ready to express it as some others are. Their lives are spent as a rule by themselves, they are spent as a rule in that station of life

in which it pleases them to think they have been called, without coming in contact, as I think they ought to do, with others whose labour has built up their wealth and possessions, and from whose life has been taken to a large extent its joy and satisfaction, by modern specialised but nevertheless largely increased industrial productive methods.

These are the reasons which, to my mind, are giving materialism its hold. It is because of the lack of understanding between classes, because we live and work too much in water-tight compartments, and because we think too little of the Unseen Forces which, after all, do move the world in the long run.

The Unseen Forces.

This, I think, may be applied particularly to the attitude adopted by many in regard to the Labour question. I am

The Labour Question a Religious One.

afraid that many regard the Labour problem almost exclusively in terms of bread and butter. It is nothing of the kind. It is an educational question, a religious question, a question of man's proper place as man, not only as wage-earner. The workmen in the mass want to take their proper place in the community on equal terms with other people. There is an ardent desire on the part of the working class as a whole for respect and recognition and for greater actual and social equality. It is their desire to be something more than merely instruments of a superior will, bound to a machine, and reckoned as "hands." They want to be reckoned as essentially human beings, to share in the benefits of knowledge and education, and in a fuller understanding of those high and lofty problems of the human soul which, despite the almost universal pursuit of wealth, rises up before humanity and presents old riddles in new forms. Materialism will give us none of these things.

It is because I believe that, that I further believe that all lovers of their kind must be glad that the materialistic conception of history is going. We must combat that idea, which converts the mind of man to the belief that life is a barren strife for power and for position.

History not a Stomach Diary.

It is not, my friends. It never will and never can be. It is a struggle, sure enough. But it is a struggle in the first place for man to subdue himself, and after that to take his part in the struggle for recognition of higher conceptions of duty, and a truer morality than any conception of materialism can give him.

I am not a pessimist. I have pointed out dangers that must be overcome, and which I think will be overcome.

Commonsense After all, the commonsense of our race is already asserting itself. I can see a
Conquering. difference, an alteration and an improvement even during the last few months.

I must admit that I was a little alarmed six or eight months ago when we woke up morning by morning in the feeling that anything might happen that particular day. I think we have got over the worst of it. I think now we have got to rally all the forces making in the direction, not only of combating the materialistic forces—that is only one thing—but to marshal all the forces which are disposed to lift life and labour amongst us to higher planes of living. That is what we have got to do. We have got to go forward, seeing to it that people as speedily as possible get into the right positions in life; and in so far as we do that, we shall be quitting ourselves as men and women, leaving the world better than we found it.

Has Socialism Lost its Soul?

BY

EINAR LI.

I want, first of all, to congratulate the Browning Hall Settlement on the initiative of this International Conference on Labour and Religion. May I secondly add my personal thanks for the kind invitation to my countryman, Magnus Nilssen, and me to attend the Conference.

I am aware that some of you will object that it is rather easy for men from neutral countries to speak on brotherhood. But I suppose that many

Norway a of you, on the other hand, know that
Fellow-sufferer. Norway belongs to those "neutrals" that have suffered most during the War.

And not only in regard to scarcity and rationing. The highest prices in the world have prevailed in Norway, and great need of food. On what is of far greater value—the lives of our sailors—the lack of humanity shown by the beaten German Government has levied a heavy toll. Many wives have become widows in Norway, many Norwegian children call in vain on their father, and many a father

in “ the country of the high mountains ”
The Pivot has lost his son in the depths of the sea
Principle— because of the mines and submarines of Germany. Nevertheless my statement is

that on brotherhood—not in theory only but in practice—the salvation of the world depends. The feeling and spirit of brotherhood between nations and individuals must be awakened in order to counteract the wave of materialism which is sweeping over all classes in the world.

I consider, consequently, a good relationship between Labour and Religion—both of which stand for brotherhood—to be the most central and
—of Religion important problem of to-day. Not a
and Labour. socialist but a capitalist view leads to egoism, nationalism, materialism. And materialism is the twin of militarism. Then I am afraid you will find no way out of deep hatred to your so-called enemies—in your own country or abroad.

But I remember a lesson from my childhood. My mother taught me, “ Love your enemies as yourself, and do good to them that offend you.” And I know a movement—the International Labour Movement. I am myself a Socialist. I accept the propaganda that the workers should shake hands across the frontier. I fear it will be hard to many workers, and it is to many people that call themselves Christian, if they don’t exercise their first principles.

In his book, “ When the Lads Come Home,” Harry Jeffs recommends “ the Churches and all religious institutions to ‘ burst the bonds asunder ’ that
Re-baptize enslave them to a dead past; let them
the Churches. learn to ‘ act in the living present, heart within and God o’erhead ’; let them realise the need of a holy inventiveness of new methods to

meet the needs of a new time; and let them scout with scorn the idea that Churches are grown so old that they have lost the use of their limbs and must totter tremblingly along the rough roads of the present, supported by the worm-eaten crutches of the past. There is no reason why the Churches should not get themselves re-baptized with their Master in the waters of the Jordan and so renew their youth."

I am not connected with religious work in such a way that I venture to examine the stage which the Church has reached to-day. But I know the Labour Movement fairly well, and just the same demand comes to it. The second International must "renew its youth"!

And it is not enough that socialism revises its economic and political theories in our time. It is also necessary to renew the movement from religious sources. "Labour and Religion" are "kindred spirits," as Harry Jeffs says in the same book. He is right in pointing out that the Churches had generated the atmosphere in which our Socialist ideals could come into being.

But if religion has failed, and if Labour has failed, will the future force—Labour *and* Religion—fail?

Is the experiment not worth trying?

Our time of dissolution and confusion offers the psychological moment for taking on the attempt.

In my opinion Labour and Religion are engaged in the same work and ought to work together along converging lines to a common end. But they are

Why Socialism not always found allies in reality. In
was Defeated. Norway, for instance, I am sorry to say
the Socialist Party at the last election

was defeated. For this there were two reasons: the alcohol question and religion. The party was, curiously enough, at the same time too much in favour of prohibition and too hostile to the Church! It had put on its programme that there should be no religious teaching in the schools. The Norwegian workers, as a whole, are not divorced from the Churches, but not very active in them.

If you look at the Labour Movement in other lands—as well as in your own—I think you will find that the crisis in all countries is very much alike.

What are the characteristic features? The surface appearances we all acknowledge. But the underlying causes? I should be inclined to put them in the following few words:—

The Great *Has Socialism lost its soul?*

Question. Have we been so occupied with the machinery of organising Labour, that we have left the driving power out of account? Have we been so engrossed with the casket that we have paid little attention to its contents?

That seems to me the greatest danger to the Labour Movement of to-day.

It is with movements as with individuals and nations. A man of gentle mind and good heart grows more and more busy. He gains money and influence, honour and great power. But during his increasing activity he forgets to take care of himself. One morning he awakens, and seeing himself in a looking-glass he is startled. He did not know himself. His face had grown hard. After painful research, he penitently discovers that something has broken down in him. He has forgotten that—

“ There are lonely hearts to cherish,
While the days are going by;
There are weary souls who perish,
While the days are going by.
If a smile we can renew,
As our journey we pursue,
Oh the good we all may do,
While the days are going by! ”

You remember, surely, a big nation with great aspirations, which grew stronger and wealthier every year.

An Awful *From war to war the Fatherland be-*
Example. *came ever more prosperous. The char-*
acter of the people had qualified it to
take a high place in civilisation, in

science, art and commerce. It was industrious, economical, solid. But its discipline turned to the theory of “ blood and iron,” and led it into great errors. In a moment its virtues were its blame; its glory its fall! The Germans worked systematically—that is true—and they systematised the last war to a system of ruin to their own country. If they had learned “ the golden rule ” by heart!

And now the Labour Movement! The Trade Unionists gained high power in social life. The socialist politicians could no longer be laughed at; they had done too earnest work in municipal bodies, as well as in parliaments. **The Peril of Outward Success.** The co-operators planted the good seed, and almost unnoticed conquered every day new ground for the idea of brotherhood and harmony in economic life. But the constant fighting in strikes, at elections, and against the competitive system perhaps brutalised and brutified. How could we maintain the high ethical principles involved in the movement?

It will not do to base our personal or national life, or our social, political and economic struggles on the material plane. With lack of religious thought and achievements, we are defeated in the long run. As a general rule, you cannot forward right by doing wrong, or advance good by doing evil. I think we often feel that we do not want our life to be "but an empty dream," that our work must have a higher touch, a leading idea, not only as a compass to guide, but as a lever to lift. We want something that gives lustre to our eyes and makes our heart feel happy; a vision that is to us as the flag is to the soldiers on the battlefield, or the music at the funeral, and the choir in the church on Easter morning.

The War most of all has materialised the world: for the War was an outburst of the materialism of our century. The profit-makers' handicap luxury and the accumulation of wealth; **The War and Materialism.** the workers' and consumers' troubles to balance income and expenditure not only made us always discuss food and money questions, but led to the neglect of life itself, to a sense of insecurity, to disappointments, to hopeless sorrow and spoiled homes, and even despair. Gradually the mind turned away from materialism and the pursuit of sensual pleasures. The peril of the Labour Movement, however, dates not only from the time of the War.

The well-known and clever American Socialist, Morris

Hillquit, admitted many years ago in his book on "Socialism," that "modern Socialists address themselves not so much to the human sentiments of society at large as to the self-interests of the working class as the class primarily concerned in the impending social change." This is quite true. In his opinion it is their strength, but to me it is their weakness and their misfortune. Even in the early history of the co-operative movement we have seen co-operative societies doing such good business that they enlisted no more members in order to share the surplus value—just like ordinary shareholders—amongst themselves. Thus the co-operative movement led them away from the co-operative idea, that sings to us to the tune of an old German folk song :—

"Come friends, the world wants mending,
Let none sit down and rest,
But seek to work like heroes,
And nobly do your best."

In the Trade Union Movement the altruistic and egoistic motives have been most mixed. The Trade Unions are built to better the conditions of the labouring class as a whole. But you find labourers who join their union only to better their own conditions. They become selfish instead of aiming to become instruments for the recovery of society. But they should

"live to hail that season,
By gifted minds foretold,
When men shall live by reason,
And not alone for gold.
When man to man united,
And every wrong thing righted,
The whole world shall be lighted
As Eden was of old."

And lastly, it is in many cases the fault of the whole Socialist Movement that in the class war it has adopted too much of the theory of the struggle for existence, and does not know sacrifice. It must be remembered that besides the self-preservation of the individual or the working class, society as a whole is also an organism with its

own right to self-preservation. More attention ought to be paid to the personal education of the socialist conscience and responsibility.

In our eagerness to reach our socialist aim we must respect other claims upon us from other sides. Society is complex, as the whole body of human beings is very complex, and it will not do to neglect either the law of mutuality or our spiritual accommodations. The Labour Movement needs to be supplied continually with its original high sentiments. They are to me—as I said in the beginning—just the same as the loftiest accomplishments of religion. On the other side, our religious thoughts must be familiar with our political, social and economic actions, and *vice versa*. They should not oppose each other. Or in one sentence: Our view of the world, and our conduct in it

as social beings, must co-ordinate with our idea of life or the cosmos. In this way it will be true that Socialism is Christianity in practice. The Churches must recognise Socialism; and both listen to the gospel of brotherhood. That means, to organise Labour and Religion all over the world. As we were going over the North Sea we met a Swedish ship that had broken its propeller. For many hours the large and strong ship had been a prey to the waves till we came and took it in tow. I stood on the bridge and said to myself, "So it would be with Labour if it lost its propeller!"

[EINAR LI, nominated by Swedish and Norwegian Social Democrats to represent Scandinavia in the International Labour Week of 1915, has been from the first a strong anti-militarist: was born at Bergen, 1880, served fifteen months' imprisonment because of his refusal to submit to military service; from 1901 to 1916 was editor of various journals: studied at Ruskin Hall, Oxford, in 1902; in 1913 member of the Stavanger County Council; 1916 became Director of the Statistical Office of Stavanger Council, is Chairman of the School Board, on the Committee of Old Age Pensions, of Fisher Insurance, of free procedure and of free feeding of children: on the Poor Law Commission, Workhouse Committee, Fire Office Committee, Provisioning Committee. He is chief of rationing. He is a member of the Social Democratic Party, and came to the International Conference on behalf of Mr. Magnus Nilssen, leader of the Labour Party in the Norwegian Parliament.]

The place of the Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, who was prevented by ill-health from attending, was taken by the Rev. H. T. Knight.

Materialism out of Date!

BY

The Rev. H. T. KNIGHT, M.A.

(Vicar of Shortlands, Kent).

Our subject this morning is "Materialism as a Peril to the Workers." I do not think, however, that it is a special danger to any one section of society; it is an equal peril to all. Nor do I feel that I, as a clergyman, a priest of the Church of England, am set to find fault with any particular grade, but to try my best to deal equally with all, and to point out failures and mistakes in any portion of society in general. Materialism is a danger to which all alike are exposed.

Yet there is a sense in which I can endorse the title of our Conference this morning. Popular thought is generally about twenty years behind the times;

A Nineteenth Century Creed. and there is a philosophy of life, still prevalent in certain quarters, which is materialistic in tendency, and as such is representative of the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century. This philosophy is materialistic in its metaphysics, mechanical in its psychology, and determinist in its ethics. Its main doctrine consists in a naturalistic estimate of human nature, which asserts that man is simply the product of his circumstances, viz., his heredity and his environment. Change heredity and change environment—it says—and the man himself will be changed: for we are nothing more than the necessary outcome of forces over which we have no control. This doctrine affirms that there is no power of choice in human nature, no faculty of self-determination, no capacity to select between motives. It denies, in short, the fact of human responsibility.

Now, I have always felt that this naturalistic doctrine of human nature is a satire on humanity, and in particular an insult to Labour. For if it were

A Satire on Humanity. true—if we were all simply the product of our surroundings—then we should have obviously to draw the corollary that all the rich are good people and all the poor are bad. Everybody knows how absurd such a conclusion would be. Amid surroundings of squalor and filth I have seen the fairest graces of the Christian character, growing up in the most unpromising soil; while in the mansions of Mayfair you may find the rankest villainy and crime. A very little experience of life teaches us that good circumstances do not necessarily result in good character.

At a meeting in Hyde Park, towards the close of last century, I came across a popular representative of this creed. It was on the eve of an Inter-

A Hyde Park Dialogue. national Congress of Socialists, and Labour was there in considerable force, with its banners: "The Land for the People!" "Justice for All!" "Workers, Unite!" etc. A man asked me: "Are you a parson, sir?"

"Yes," I said; "I am a clergyman of the Church of England."

"May I ask you a question?"

"By all means," I replied.

"Well, sir, what do you believe?"

"Not an easy question," I said, "to answer in a word. But, if you want a statement, I can give it you. I believe the Apostles' Creed: I feel it to be an expression of my faith."

"Shall I tell you," said my questioner, "what I believe in?"

"Certainly."

"I believe in this grass lying under my feet, and those iron railings, and telegraph wires, and stones down there. I believe in anything which I can taste or touch or handle. And I think my creed is as good as yours."

"One minute," I replied, "what of that banner with 'Justice' on it? Do you believe in justice?"

"Yes."

"But you can't taste it, or handle it, can you?"

"No."

"Do you believe in truth and righteousness and love?"

"Oh, yes, I believe in these things."

"Well," I said, "if you believe in such things as truth and righteousness and justice and love, tie them all together and put a Person behind them, and you have got at something like the Christian's idea of God."

Such may suffice for a popular reply to a question in Hyde Park. But we must pursue our investigation further. If you wish to understand a doc-

The Methods of Physical Science—origin and development. This necessi-

tarian theory was put forward as a sequel to the remarkable scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century, which revolutionised man's outlook upon the world of nature, and has enabled us to regard the universe from a standpoint quite different from that of our grandfathers. As the climax of these investigations was propounded the great generalisation of the uniformity of nature, and the operation of natural law throughout the universe—one of the most brilliant results of scientific procedure, and also the great principle upon which all discoveries are based. Some of these scientific observers,

however, went too far. They conceived of that with which they were dealing as **Intruded into Spiritual Spheres**. if it was the whole of everything. They identified Nature with reality. They

came to look upon the universe as a self-contained whole, self-originated, self-operative, and self-existent. All things were bound together in a self-supporting mechanism. Under such a theory human beings were but automata, conscious of course, but still mere machines. People were like puppets in a marionette show, pulled about by a series of invisible wires, over which they had no control. The scientists told us that we were all encased in an inexorable order, held in the iron grip of a non-moral destiny, and that any other conception we might entertain was but a pitiful delusion.

Now I am the last to deny that there is a science of

human nature. All human phenomena are entirely a legitimate field for the scientific explorer. Not only such things as politics and economics, but also ethics, æsthetics, and even religion, form proper ground for the scientist to investigate and describe. But he must beware lest he take his physical categories with him into such realms of human interest, and apply them to the totality of human phenomena as if they were nothing more than physical facts. The business of science is to describe; to explain is the business of philosophy. And if the physical scientist employs his own specialist cate-

**Wrong Tools
on the Job.**

gories to deal with the age-long problems of human thought, he will often find himself using the wrong tool for his job. A spade, and not a charge of dynamite, is the right instrument for digging up potatoes. But dynamite, and not a spade only, is wanted to shift a rock. A change in the subject-matter of enquiry involves also a change in the instruments which have to be utilised. We have to ask the physicist to remember the difference between description and explanation, and not to confuse the particular in which he happens to be interested with the universal. The secrets of the universe will not disclose themselves to the man who trusts, entirely and absolutely, to the methods of the laboratory.

The naturalistic philosophy was first popularised in England by the late Professor T. H. Huxley—name always

**Huxley and
Blatchford.**

to be held in honour by those who reverence intellectual honesty. It was also carried out to the public through some of the publications of the Rationalist Press Association, and "Nunquam's" papers in the *Clarion* twenty years ago. But I want to quote this morning two authorities upon this subject, both of which will, I hope, receive the attention which they deserve. The first is Sir Oliver Lodge, the leading physicist of to-day.

Sir Oliver Lodge. "If any one tells you," so he writes, "that you do not exist, or that the external world does not exist, or that you are an automaton without free-will, viz., that all your actions are determined by outside causes, and that you are not responsible, then appeal must be made to twelve average men, un-

sophisticated by special studies. This is not an appeal to the mob as against the philosopher, but an appeal to the experience of untold ages as against the studies of a single generation." Such is the voice of the physical science of to-day. You will have noticed that, while one phrase in the above quotation demolishes the position of that spurious idealism which denies the reality of matter, the sentence as a whole aims at demolishing that determinist view of human nature which I have been venturing to criticise, and which sprang out of the mistake of transferring physical categories to the whole of human phenomena. Science in our generation has executed almost a *volte-face*. Under the leadership of Huxley it was inclined to be materialistic in tendency; but to-day, under the leadership of Sir Oliver Lodge, it is becoming spiritualistic, if not spiritual.

My second quotation is from the late Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, the historian of European morals. He belongs, it is true, to a past generation. But, as a moral philosopher, his word ought to carry weight, and he was one who had no predilections in favour of Christianity. Discussing the reality of the human will as a self-originating force, he says "the best argument in its favour is that it is impossible really to disbelieve it. No human being can prevent himself from regarding certain acts with indignation, shame, remorse, gratitude, enthusiasm, praise, or blame; which would be perfectly unmeaning and irrelevant if these acts could not be avoided. You can have no higher evidence on the subject than is derived from this fact. It is impossible to explain the mystery of free-will; but until a man ceases to feel these emotions, he has not succeeded in disbelieving it." In other words, the moral valuations of humanity are inexplicable, if all is automatic and predetermined. All the ethical judgments which we form rest upon the postulate of human freedom. That man is a moral agent is a belief fundamental to all society. The criminal, when brought before the magistrate or judge, cannot plead that he was under a necessity to act as he did. There may be lots of palliating circumstances, and these must be

**Lecky's
Argument.**

**The Case of the
Criminal.**

taken into consideration. But, if the man had really no power of choice, he can no longer be regarded as a criminal. When a man is no longer responsible for his actions, he is treated as insane, and not fit to be an ordinary member of society. Civilisation, in short, treats us as responsible, all its usages being grounded on the belief that man is not simply a mechanical outcome of the evolutionary process, but a moral agent endowed with a will. Deny the fact of human responsibility to be a fact, and you compel us all to join the anarchists. Under such a creed all society has become impossible.

I hope I have not dwelt too long upon this negative subject. No physicist of repute holds to-day the old naturalistic doctrine about human nature. But the speculations of scientists in the last century are only now percolating into the masses; so that popular opinion is apt to be out of date. Moreover, under the influence of this discarded theory, men have written books,

Materialistic Interpretation of History. representing the history of Europe from a partial and one-sided standpoint. They read the story of European civilisation from a materialistic point of view, interpreting it as purely an economic struggle, to which they give the name of "the class-war." Such a presentation of history springs ultimately from a false estimate of human nature, and is based upon a philosophy of life which is untenable by any who think the matter out for themselves.

Let me repeat that, in what I have tried to say, I am not attacking any one section of society. If materialistic doctrines get a footing amongst the labouring masses, is there not a reason for it? The workers have not yet secured the leisure or opportunity to explore those treasures of the human mind, which are unlocked and open to those who occupy a different station. But the danger to-day is the general materialism of all sorts and conditions of men. We are all apt to forget that we do not live by bread alone. Reforms are

Trying to Live by Bread Alone. needed, far-reaching and comprehensive; and we are all thankful that the great movement of reconstruction is now actually going forward in our midst. Yet we must not be

blind to its greatest danger. Ideals may be themselves materialistic. And the greatest peril of all is that Labour's programme of reform may reach its complete fulfilment, and then turn to Dead Sea apples in our hand. It will do so, if we fail to realise that man is a spiritual creature, made in the image of God. Linked as we are to lower forms of life, man emerges as the apex of creation, shaped in the Divine image, and not to be satisfied with anything less than the Divine. The well-known words of Augustine express exactly what I feel : " O God, Thou hast made us for Thyself; and our hearts are restless, till they find their rest in Thee."

F. HERBERT STEAD.

In suggesting the title for our discussions this morning, there was no intention whatever to suggest that materialism was a vice to which the working class were more exposed than others. But the Conference is on *Labour and Religion*, and the first morning, it seems to me, is fitly taken up with the dangers that menace Labour, not Labour alone, but undoubtedly do menace Labour. And instead of saying or suggesting or allowing the impression to go abroad that we fear that the working class are more liable to materialism than others, I would say that there was precisely the opposite conviction. You

**"The Holliest
People of
England."**

remember what John Ruskin said, that the working classes of England are the holiest people living in England to-day. We go to a higher authority, and remember that to the poor belongs the

Kingdom of God. It has been our hope that the workers would be exempt from the curse of materialism that has been the moral ruin of the upper and the middle classes. And just as we are most desirous that the vices that have been the curse of men should not come and invade the life of women, so our earnest hope and desire is that the materialistic view of life may not destroy what Ruskin called the sanctity of the working classes, but that they may abide true to those lofty ideals that have characterised them hitherto. The Chairman will bear me witness that the idealistic classes of the world to-day are the workers.

They have stood for ideals that no other class has ventured as a class to support. They have been the pioneers of international unity when the upper and middle classes felt themselves entrenched in the citadels of nationalism and scoffed at the ideal of internationalism. And it is because the working classes have been the idealistic classes of the world that we would with all our might protest against the invasion of materialism into the regions where ideals have hitherto prevailed. Alas! I have had many testi-

monies given me, not by employers of labour only, but by Labour leaders who have fought a long fight for the elevation of their class, who have borne the heat and the burden of the day. They have told me in tones of deep sorrow that they find amongst the younger workers of to-day a very different spirit from what prevailed when they set out to fight for better conditions. They say that they find amongst the younger workers to-day a greed of gain utterly irrespective of the welfare even of their own class, still less of the welfare of the community; that there is a profiteering spirit abroad amongst the workers of to-day that they had never known in the earlier time. They have told me that the workers of to-day are too largely influenced by the desire to get as much as they can and to give as little as they can, and the tragedy of it is that they regard that as happiness! I would not venture myself to confirm or question these statements, but it seems to me that it will be a terrible thing if the vice that has been the curse of the middle classes, that has been the moral ruin of our merchant class, should attack the classes which have been in my mind, and in the minds of others, the very van of the army that is fighting for the achievement of the loftiest ideals on earth.

E. C. FAIRCHILD

(Late Organiser, British Socialist Party).

I rather feel that the impression one gets from the platform this morning is a little mixed. I think some of us are under misapprehension as to the dominant idea moving in the minds of that section of the working classes which, if I may without being rude to the rest, I should call the

thinking section. The scientific results of the discoveries of the nineteenth century, dealt with by Mr. Knight, are more generally held among the middle classes than among the workers. The science of which he speaks was a very adequate presentation of the views that were held by the middle classes in the

**Materialism a
Middle-Class
Creed.**

middle of the nineteenth century, in order to defend themselves in the acquisition of their gains. He is, I think, altogether misinformed, if I may say so, as to the relation between what our Chairman has called the economic interpretation of history and the naturalistic view of mankind's development that Mr. Knight has laid before this Conference. The economic interpreta-

**Economics in
History.**

tion of history—I am no authority on the question, but a Socialist and one who happens to know a little of the teachings of Karl Marx—as it is understood by the great masses of Socialists to-day, is very briefly this; not that mankind is moved by those purely naturalistic notions which Mr. Knight so eloquently expounded, but that history hitherto, not necessarily history always, but in the development of society, has been mainly a struggle of classes. There is no time for us to enlarge on that idea. I simply want to say this. Those who have studied the history of politics in this country will agree with me that the great factor in the development of that supply of labour which was necessary

**Enclosure of
Commons.**

for the industrial revolution in this country, and which historians generally state commenced with the year 1760, was the enclosure of commons. By taking the common fields away from the masses of the people, the landowners of this country were able to drive thousands of our working classes into the factories, and thus provide the cheap labour that the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and a little later our coal mines, required for the development of capitalistic industry in this land. From that time almost up to to-day the history of our common people can, at least along one line, be traced to that enclosure of the commons. It was a conflict between the governing classes of this country, and the working people,

for purposes of gain, in order to bring masses of the people into such a dependent position that they were compelled to work for wages. The Reform Act of 1832 was a political expression of the war between classes. It was a struggle on the part of the capitalist classes of this country to gain political expression of that power which they had already won by the overthrow of the aristocracy. I do not want to dwell upon it more, though I could give very ample detail.

As to the naturalistic view of human nature which Mr. Knight has expounded, held by Huxley and the Rationalists, there is very little mention of it among the working classes now. I know something of the miners and railwaymen and shipbuilders. There is very little of it amongst them. There is something much higher. Most of us are working men or in some relation thereto. I do suggest there is very little occasion to persuade us not to be materialistic. We have very little opportunity to be selfish. I think that in our modern Socialist movement the most advanced section of the Labour Movement, this unselfish idea prevails, and thence percolates through the whole of the Labour Movement. The modern Socialist movement does not preach subjugation to material things; but seeks release from the domination of material things. I believe you will find the loftiest conceptions, the highest moral ideals, among those men who to-day are fighting for higher purposes, for better housing, for a more stringent view of the obligations of Trade Unionism, for opportunities or powers that Trade Unions should have. I believe in our modern Labour Movement you will find what after all is nearest the true thing. The quest of truth has been a kind of eternal pursuit of mankind. He has not discovered reality, and I do not think he ever will. There is at least this to be said, that the modern Labour Movement gives a positive idea to the conceptions of social morality.

Social Service There are all kinds of conceptions of
Not Personal morality. One view of Christian mor-
Salvation. ality very dominant a hundred years ago
 was that the highest thing possible was

to gain personal salvation. That idea has rather passed out from the Christian Church—at least I hope it has.

That was the philosophic religious idea, the concept that was the exact counterpart of the individualism of that age. It was its necessary consequence. To-day the view of morality within the Labour Movement is that the highest morality is social service, and the religion that does not teach social service is not worth having. I do not think you will get that social service until you have a more equitable distribution of wealth. Until you have that we can go on preaching, but we will not get very far.

REV. A. R. MINIFIE, Baptist Minister.

I hardly expected to say anything this morning at all. I have not previously thought much about the subject. But while sitting here I have got two or three thoughts which I will try to put before you. It seems to me the history of the world, which has been of a very materialistic nature, has brought about the consequences which we see around us day by day in the form of greed and selfishness and all the evils that we are familiar with. Is it not a fact that it is the absence of spiritual life in people which has brought about these evils? When we talk about religion, what do we mean? I suppose we mean the teaching of Jesus Christ and God. Is it not a

The Cause of all our Troubles. fact that the absence of the teaching of Scripture, the repudiation of the idea of God and the Atonement, is entirely responsible for the misery which the world is going through at the present time? I take it that if we believe in God and in the teachings of the Creator at all—and I suppose most of us do—we believe that the reconstruction of the world must come from that direction and that direction only. Personally I do not believe in your philosophy. However great the philosophy may be, philosophy has no finality about it, as it is purely speculative. We come forward to you and say, Scripture has a finality about it, and I maintain that is the only source from which we can start our policy of reconstruction. Re-

The True Source of Reconstruction. construction must come from and through Jesus Christ and nobody else. Personally, I think the history of the world, and also the teaching of the Scripture, teaches this, that we are coming to the days of the

Second Advent, that God obviously is absolutely dissatisfied with, absolutely hates the present conditions of society; He is breaking down the institutions of society, not absolutely by what we understand by "direct action," but along their own self-righteousness, along their own falsity, to bring about their collapse. And I believe that

The Second Advent and Co-operative Commonwealths. He will Himself bring about means for reconstruction. I do not know exactly by what human agents He will bring that about. Personally I am inclined to think it will be along the lines of co-operative commonwealths, something of that kind. But let that be as it may. I believe that the absence of a deep spiritual belief is responsible for the world having gone wrong. It is only by going back to that spiritual belief that we can ever get right with God and put the world in a satisfactory state again.

OWEN JONES

(of the National Union for Christian Social Service).

I want in a few seconds to point out to those who are of the same persuasion as myself, Socialists, but from a different motive entirely—there are Socialists from a selfish motive, as one told me in Hyde Park last Easter he was out for the biggest loaf; and there are Christian Socialists. May I point out one danger, the economic danger of materialism to the world. I read a short paragraph in the

**One Man,
One Job.** paper that since railwaymen had shorter hours on the railway, a worker on one of the South Coast lines is filling in his spare time by taking on gardening jobs.

That is taking work from another man. May I suggest three remedies to that evil, and ask perhaps the ideas of others as to which is best? One idea is this: a clarion call to the Christians and the Churches to extend the work of the co-operative educational movements, to teach men to spend their leisure well, and give them acquaintance with higher and deeper things. Another remedy would be for the State to take control, as has already been done in some suitable parts in this country, and appeal to people

to do that which is right. Another way, with which I have only lately become acquainted, is the State Bonus. I feel that to go through life with the object of

State Bonus. amassing money is not the goal of happiness. At the same time people want to feel that at the end of life there is something better for them than the workhouse. I do not want a fortune, but I want to plead for the idea of a State Bonus, that when we fall out of work we can have sufficient sustenance for the necessities of life, but not sufficient to take away the impetus for labour. Every man desires comfort, something between comfort and luxury, and he is entitled to it. If he falls out of work, he should be kept from the pangs of hunger. We should all be taxed a certain percentage out of our income, and then when overtaken by bad days we should have something to fall back upon.

MISS KORMAN.

I hope you will not be afraid of me. I was born in that part of the world which is called Russia. I came to this Conference because I wanted to find the truth. The world has lost it. I do not know who will find the truth—the Christian, the clergyman, the Jew, the Socialist—I do not know. It is very difficult to say. I was puzzled and interested in this question of materialism a peril to the workers. The first idea which came to my mind was that they have begun to preach materialism from the wrong side. Begin to preach materialism to the

Butter or workers? It seemed to me illogical. I
Margarine? live in Bermondsey. There there are two hundred women workers. Each of us can have plenty of butter, not only two ounces. Why? Because the workers who live in Bermondsey cannot afford to buy butter. They buy margarine always. And you cannot preach to them that they are materialistic. That is to take their little margarine away. Here is a church, here are a lot of clergymen, and nobody will report it to the Food Controller. You can have plenty of butter because the poor people don't buy it. It seems illogical to preach materialism here. Is there religion in Socialistic

ideas? Yes. Here are clergymen. I do not want to offend anybody. I respect any, religious or social. Perhaps religion is wanted. I will give you one example. Not far from here I heard wounded soldiers talking. "I won't go to church any more." "Why?" "Because six days in the week the preacher is out. The seventh day he is in the church." The 'bus conductor says he does not go to the church too. It is very important what men in the street, and women in the street, say. Of course they are not politicians. It is not the politicians of the world who say the truth. Mr. Knight does not believe the scientific point of view. I see the babies in New

Babies in Kent Road—and in Kensington. Kent Road or Old Kent Road playing, very badly nourished. I know what will happen to those babies. They will never go to Oxford or Cambridge. Then I see the babies where I teach Russian, in South Kensington. I know what they will become. They will go to Cambridge and Oxford. The scientific point of view is quite good, but you must have some ideas, because live without ideas you cannot. These ideas, if they will come from the Church, I will accept them. If they will come from the Socialist, I will accept them. But I want always to preach goodwill, not to use violence because what is going on now in all the world is only bad. This War has upset the world. I shall be very glad if some ideas will come to save us.

MR. BRITTEN.

In reference to Religion and Labour, as a local inhabitant of twenty-five years, brought up in the Church of England, my point is that the clergy themselves do not interest themselves in the things that are necessary and beneficial to Labour as a whole. They do not take an interest in public life sufficiently. They seem to live in a world of their own. That, to my mind, is a great factor in the falling off of the workers as a whole in their attendance at places of worship. I have noticed myself, living in this neighbourhood for about twenty-five years, a great decrease in the audiences. Undoubtedly that is partly due to the War, but in the churches generally congregations

have fallen off, and all denominations live in a world of their own and do not interest themselves in real things.

REV. A. T. HOCKING.

I can only say that, speaking for a great many more of my brethren, I believe there is nothing we desire more than that we should be able to come into

The Boys in real terms of fellowship and brotherhood
France— with the working man generally. While

I was in France, working among the soldiers, I had not the least difficulty in becoming a comrade with them. I do not know exactly what it was, except that we were all in khaki, and that perhaps broke down the barriers and made people one. But since I have got back to England I have found the old barrier still there.

It is not because I have not tried to break
—and at Home. it down. I have. It is not because I have not gone in about the men's homes.

I have. Every man who has come back, I have been to visit. He is always ready to welcome me there. But he stays outside my church. It seems to me that your accusation is not kind. And though I am ready to be on terms of brotherhood to him, he won't recognise it in my church. I should be only too glad to feel that I might take up again the same terms with those boys to-day that I was on when we were in France. Why is it?

Mutual Approach Why has it broken down now that they
Needed. have come back home? You have got to break down something, too. We have

got to recognise that. It is not only the clergy that have got to mend their ways and their relations to the working men, but you have got to try and break down something in yourself. You do your part and we will try to do ours. I am here to learn, and I have learned something this morning, and we feel this that in what our Chairman said about there being a submerged ideal in every man lies our hope to-day. To-day it is submerged. We want to get it up to the top. We live by ideals—there is no doubt about it. When we can get men to realise the high views of life, and when we get them all to live up to them to-

gether, then the better world will come in. It is what we hope for. I as a minister am doing my best to try and keep the highest ideals on top that I have learned from Jesus Christ. In doing that I have my own place as a helper-on of the better day which we all believe is coming.

C. D. STEPHENSON.

I hope you won't be afraid of me either! I happen to come from Tennessee. I have come here not as an informed member of the Labour Party or class, but rather as an uninformed member of the leisured class. Unlike our Chairman, I have found more pleasure in not working than in working. It may be that when I have been away from it as long as our Chairman has been, I may find that pleasure in thinking about it. I came here to find out if possibly this meeting was not a putting on of the brakes on Labour at the present time. The perils of materialism to Labour! I wanted to see if this was not an attempt to promise, for the abominable conditions under which it lives here, some compensation in the world that is to come. I am not sure yet. I am still uninformed. But if it be true that this is what you want to do with it, if you want to can up Labour, let it keep its ideals and its squalor and its rotten conditions—well, frankly, I don't belong to any party at all, I have no citizenship anywhere; but I hope they won't do it. Furthermore, I have been looking for a long time, in many countries and among many conditions of people in peace and in war, for something that would inspire me. I hoped to find it here—

Something to Inspire.

and, frankly, as I watched the audience when the people were speaking I saw some almost asleep. I didn't get up till very late or I might have been asleep myself! I fail to find anything with passion in it. I say, as one outside of your movement, that until you have got that, until you have some appeal, some passion and sympathy, you won't get anywhere. And at the end of all your discussion I simply ask myself, "What about it?" That is what I was taught in the British Army, and it means a great deal. I would like to know, to have some principle

laid down, and if possible some notion as to what we are going to do with it. That is what we young people are looking for. We are looking for something to lead us. We would like to be directed, but as yet we do not know what to set about. And this discussion is very slow.

CLIFFORD NEWTON (Y.M.C.A.).

May I venture to suggest to my friends of the cloth that it is not because of the sin of materialism on the part of some of us that we are not inside their churches. I do feel that Christian people make a great mistake in deploring the lack of religious life amongst working men to-day because the churches are empty. As one who was brought up in the folds of a very narrow Church, I am not at all surprised at it. I am surprised they are as full as they are. May I suggest that our discussions during the week that we are together here will be devoid of very

Go Where much fruit if they are spent in laymen
Men Are! talking to parsons, and parsons talking to laymen and saying, "You don't come to my church, and therefore you are materialist and irreligious!" Might I venture to suggest, therefore, that if the clergy of all denominations in this country are really keen on getting hold of the men, they should continue to do what so many of them have so ably done during the War—go to where the men are and not wait for the men to go to them. There are plenty of men, and there are plenty of places where they most do congregate. We should find out where they are. I think when the clergy get in touch with them they will find they are not so irreligious as they are inclined to think they are.

THOMAS CAPE, M.P.

I am one of those who are in the Labour Movement and also in one of the Socialist organisations. I believe there is a peril from materialism as regards the workers. And my belief is borne out by the evidence I have received. But I think we ought to try to find out why that

peril is existing in the ranks and in the minds of the workers. I think if you probe into the

Who Teach depths to find that out, you will find
Materialism? that it has come into their minds because of the conditions which have sur-

rounded them all their lives. The more serious thinking men of the workers have seen that the governing class has exploited them. What for? Not for spiritual ends, but for material. They have found out that they have been required to give strenuous and arduous toil, not so much for the spiritual gain of any particular class, but for the material gain to the few. And consequently they have turned their minds in that direction, and they say and believe that the best way, and the only way, to a higher and better life is through the road of materialism. The vast majority of the Labour men in the movement want to lead the workers in another direction. We believe that the road to a higher and better life would be that each was working for all and all for each. That is an aim which makes men and women better in their spiritual life. So long as the present conditions exist, so long as we find it difficult to induce a large proportion of the working class to strive for spiritual uprising, then their souls, that would make them reach out for the things that make life more pure and better than materialism will make them, will find it difficult to get into that line, until we can assure them, and convince them, that we are not exploiting them for the benefit of a few capitalistic employers.

ALDERMAN SHEPPARD.

What we want to get to really is how to prevent working people from making the mistakes which we have frequently complained of amongst other people. I have been a Trade Union representative certainly for more than thirty years, and have had an executive position in connection with important Unions. I have been on local councils at home for more than twenty-five years. My experience of working men is equal to that of most of the men who are here this morning. We have been deluged in season and out of season with the methods

that have been adopted by the people that have been in power. Working men are getting the power they are entitled to, and we want as far as we possibly can to save them from making the mistakes which other people have made. But however bad the condition of things has been as the result of capitalism, how much greater will be the catastrophe if, when power gets into the hands of the workers, the same kind of materialism should be exercised. To-day the power is in the hands of the people. We want to see that that power is directed to a higher plane than was the aim of people before us. I do not want to claim more reverence for working people than other classes. All I want to say is this, that up to now they have not had a chance of living that full life which other people have had. We want to give them that chance. At the same time we say that if you want to make a better job of it than the people you are complaining about, those whose main ideal of life is material advantage, let us try, each one of us, to perform our duty to the fullest of our capacity. I think that is the point we want to emphasise in our discussions. It is no good to be complaining of a person because he has not done this or that. Have we all done that which we ought to have done in our particular walk of life? I have a serious complaint to make with regard to my fellow-workmen throughout the length and breadth of our country. Unfortunately the same spirit of high moral tone which has been preached here this morning has not percolated right down to the mass of our movement as it ought to have done. Take your own Trade Union comrades. We have Trade Unions hundreds of thousands strong, and yet at our Lodge meetings, where all our idealistic resolutions are passed unanimously, where we ought to have had hundreds we get ten or fifteen. Those idealistic resolutions get passed as representing the mass of our people, but unfortunately they do not. If you want to get hold of the reins of power you must make yourselves worthy, you must see to it that you avoid the mistakes that have been made by men before you, or else the mischief that will be done by the masses will be far and away greater than the mischief that was done by other classes in the community. That

is why we are called together, to consider how we can get home to the masses of our people, to impress them with the importance of the spiritual side of mankind rather than with the materialistic side. I do not look upon a person as necessarily religious because he attends church or chapel. Some of the finest Christian workers I have met have rarely attended church or chapel, but they are living a full life, giving of their best to their fellow men and women, and in so far as they give of their best they have carried out the teachings of the Christ in the truest sense of the word. We want this spirit to permeate the mass of our people, that they may be able to manipulate the power that they will possess, in the direction of trying to achieve for humanity those higher ideals. What does it mean? Materialism carried to its logical conclusion means the world to the strong and the weak to the wall. That is the policy we have been preaching against. Those who have believed in Trade Unions for generations past believe that they have been up against that kind of philosophy. We want to try and see if we cannot impress our fellow-workmen and women with the idea that if they want to do better than other people have done, let them imbibe some of the ideals that have been talked about this morning and impress upon them the ideal duty as well as the ideal right.

ALDERMAN BANTON.

I wonder that the working man is so good as he is to-day when one considers all those evil influences that have been at work right through this generation to bring the man down. I am myself a cabinet maker by trade. I was apprenticed to it and took a delight in my work. There is an art in the trade. Then I began to experience the sectionalising of work, and the last speaker, Mr. Sheppard, can tell some stories in regard to that. I can trace its influence on the men who to-day are engaged in talking about production, and more production. All our leaders seem to be harping upon that one thought—produce! Turn out better and more efficient machinery! But what of the men? So you have in your huge factories sections in which men are not engaged in all those hours

of labour in producing something they may take a pride in. Workers are simply slaves to a particular industry, taking no pride whatever in that which they are producing. They are part of the machine. They realise that they are producing wealth for others to spend. They know they are not to participate in those things they are creating. It is this form of production that we have got to tackle in trying to find expressions or formulæ which can bring men to conceive of what religion is and what real labour is. I believe one of those problems we have to face is to bring men back to a work they can take a delight in, take pride in the work they can do, and put their heart and soul into it. It is a religious question to me. For if a man is to give his years of life to producing shoddy, has that no demoralising effect upon that man's soul? It must have. How far can we bring real religion and real life together, and give Labour a religious conception of what a man's duty is here, without a thought of the hereafter? It is only as we live here that we are fit for a hereafter. So I want to get a real conception in the mind of men of what the worker is and what he should do. Let us begin afresh, and let every man learn a beautiful handicraft. The root question is: How are we to go to the workers of the world under our present system, and appeal to them for unity, for an international spirit? We are called upon to produce more and produce more. We cannot go to our neighbours with that alone in our mind. We have to learn that we must begin in our workshops. To let men have a true conception of the dignity of labour, and with that a true conception of the dignity of life.

RT. HON. G. N. BARNES, M.P.

I should not like this morning to close without cheering up our young friend Stephenson about our attitude to the present industrial condition and the existing industrial system. We challenge it from this platform and we hate it from the very bottom of our souls. We are out to fight it all the time, because it has not in it the wherewithal by which men can live all-round full and free lives. So there need be no misgiving in his mind as to our attitude in

regard to that. I heartily agree with our friend Banton, who has just spoken. We have got somehow to get into the life of the working man a joy and satisfaction in his work, and that he cannot get to-day under our present system, because it all tends to quantity rather than to quality. In the workshop to-day a man is urged to get out as much as he can. I am old enough to remember when a man was allowed sufficient time to really make a good job and feel a pride in it. The system under which we are living does not and cannot tend to that at all. Therefore we are up against it all the time. So far as I

**All of One
Mind.**

can gather from the speaking this morning, we are all of one mind. There has been no opposition. I thought when Mr. Fairchild began we were going to have some fireworks. But even Mr. Fairchild had nothing to say but words of commendation for the ideas we stand for on this platform. This morning the perils of materialism is the topic. I hope we shall have some more challenging topics during the week to satisfy our friend, Mr. Stephenson. Even Mr. Fairchild, I gather has nothing but commendation for the main idea this morning—that is, that materialism tends to hardness, whereas what we really need is fellowship and co-operation. And therefore we have all got to practise fellowship and co-operation, with a view to gradually converting as many as we possibly can of those who are engaged in the hard struggle of life to help in introducing that spirit of fellowship, even into those hard phases of life, with a view to gradually transforming them. I believe, as our friend Minifie says, the ultimate ideal is a co-operative commonwealth, and we have all got to strive and struggle as hard as we can to abolish the present pull-devil-pull-baker struggle. I have nothing to say against Mr. Fairchild's statement of history. History has been a pull-devil-pull-baker struggle of individuals and classes. We want to substitute for that the co-operative commonwealth of which our friend has spoken.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2ND, 1919.

Religion Implicit in the Labour Movement.

BY

ALDERMAN F. SHEPPARD

(1917-18 First Labour Lord Mayor of Bristol).

We have met this morning to deal in our discussions with Religion Implicit in the Labour Movement; can it be made explicit and put into definite statements? I think anyone who has had any experience at all of the Labour Movement as we have it in our country will agree that we speak of it in the broadest sense—that is, any efforts that have been put forward by any agency which has for its object the uplifting of those that toil and is sincere in its desire for the welfare of our fellow-creatures—are all included in the Labour Movement. If we look at it in this sense we get nearer to what is meant by the term used. Trade Unions have in the main been the instrument used, as it is the one that came nearest to hand, and more easily understood by the working people of our country. Anyone who will take the trouble to read the main objects and the rules and regulations set out in the printed literature of the Unions will at once grasp the fundamental religious idea of service and sacrifice. The early days certainly showed enthusiasm and a zeal which would be difficult to excel in any other movement having for its object the well-being of our fellow-creatures. It was the unstinted, unpaid service of men that won the admiration of friend and foe, and the unselfish disregard of consequences that laid the foundation of its subsequent success. To be a Trade Unionist in the early days meant risk of unemployment, boycott, imprisonment, transportation, and, what was worst of all, to be

**The Labour
Movement
Religious.**

**Sacrifice the
Proof.**

jibed at and persecuted by those they tried to serve. Notwithstanding this, it grew, became strong, and to-day we have it as the strongest outstanding force in the Labour world. Side by side with the growth of Trade Unions have developed other agencies of a more or less distinctly Socialistic character, till I think we can say to-day that Trade Unions and Socialism have become merged and form one body in ideal, and this too on an International basis. When then people say that the Labour Movement is distinctly materialistic, my answer is that they do not understand it and are ignorant of its propaganda and know nothing of its history. My knowledge as a propagandist of over thirty years has supplied me with a mass of evidence of men who not only renounced their own comfort, but who gave service without thought of pay or reward of

**The Penalty
of Success.**

any sort whatever; their sole desire being service to their fellow-men. It may be that, as a result of success materialism has crept in here and there. This un-

fortunately happens in all movements as they become successful. We do want to keep our mind's eyes fastened on the ideals our forbears had—their love of right, their unselfishness, their sacrifices, the services they rendered in time of great labour troubles, the inspiration they were to men when engaged in strikes. Without these active

**Not Individuals,
but the
Movement.**

spirits to stimulate, Labour would have remained dumb and powerless. We have in the Movement, as you have among your Orthodox Christians, men who are no credit to it, but is it just to deride

the ideal of either because of the defects of individuals? The question is rather: What does it stand for? What objects—is it service or self? My contention is that it stands for service, fellowship, fraternity or whatever term you use; it is there every time. Therefore religion is more than implicit, it is there absolute; its whole history is stamped throughout with it. What is it

**The Spirit of
Fellowship.**

that we love more than most else? It is that we believe in the spirit of fellowship that has been developed. It is the simple Dick, Tom and Harry friendly greeting we under-

stand, no matter what part of the country we come from. In the past we have differed strongly from each other in method, but there has been the friendly fraternal spirit that we meet each other as men engaged in the same work. Whatever the future has in store, up to now the ideals

Fraternal Aid.

stand. Can anyone who has the slightest knowledge of Labour forget what happened at the birth of the Dockers' Union? A demand was put forward for improved conditions of service around your docks; an appeal was sent out to the established Trade Unions. The appeal was not made in vain. Assistance, financial and otherwise, came from all of the old Unions, and large sums of money were sent by the Unions of Australia. Without this assistance the old bad conditions would have continued for some time longer. The fight was won, and although much remains to be done, there has been no going back with Labour since that time. If Labour had been a purely selfish or irreligious movement, this would not have been done.

I can say in my own experience I, too, have been associated with many difficulties in strikes and things of that sort. When we have been down in very low water indeed, trying to fight against adverse circumstances, what was it that those of us who were in the Movement in those days had to do? We went to the leaders of other associations. We explained to them our difficulty. We pointed out to them that we were fighting the same fight, and we wanted their help and co-operation. In every instance we found that this help and co-operation were forthcoming.

I remember some years ago I was responsible for the handling of men in connection with a dispute. We had been in this dispute for sixteen weeks, and had got down to a very low ebb in finances. Practically speaking, every

How One Strike Was Won.

home that was involved in that struggle was in poverty. I was asked to go to the pithead and make an appeal to the miners as they came up. I remember very distinctly, as these men came to the top, with the perspiration and steam pouring off their bodies, I gathered them around me and told them the tale of the difficulties

that we were trying to overcome. These men straight away agreed that the best thing they could do to help was not to pass resolutions—except one, agreeing to levy themselves to the end of the strike, every one of them so much per week. These men knew nothing more of our difficulties and struggles; it was sufficient to them to know that here was a body of men who were making an effort to improve the well-being of their fellow-men; and for sixteen weeks beyond that these men levied themselves, right to the end of the struggle. As a result of the effort they made, the position the men fought for was won.

One can go on and tell no end of stories of the vast sacrifices that men have made in the days that have gone by.

We have now got to a period in our Movement when we have become strong, and I think a greater wisdom and discretion have to be exercised to-day than in any period of the world's history. In proportion to the amount of wisdom we exercise, so shall we grow.

The Ideal of Justice.

Unless Labour is wise, and prepared to take lessons from the experience of the past, profiting by the men who have gone by in the past, profiting by the mistakes other people have made, we may go to pieces as quickly as we have been built up. I believe our ideal of justice is going to be the one we are going to follow. Whether in England or in any other country, the Labour Movement will only live in proportion to the men of insight, truth and justice associated with the Movement.

Back to the Galilean!

BY —

GEORGE LANSBURY.

The subject that we are to discuss this morning is one to which I suppose everyone who has had anything to do with the Labour and Socialist Movement has at some time or the other had to face up. I would like to say at the outset, that I take the view taken by a speaker yesterday—if the report in the Press is true—that we are not

here, and certainly I am not here, to lecture the working class on materialism. The working classes are no more materialistic than any other class, and in very many ways are less materialistic than other classes.

Also I am not here to say they are any less religious than other classes. I have often said, I believe on this platform, that I hope I will live long

Society Based on enough to see a mission to the rich,
Materialism. and someone organising an investigation

into how the rich live, exactly in the same way as the late Charles Booth investigated how the poor live in South and East London. It seems to me that all of us need to face the fact that society, this civilised society we live under, is based on materialism, and that from the time we are sent out to work to the day we die, the one thing that we are judged by is whether we have succeeded in a money sense. No one cheers the failures, no one pats on the back the people who do not succeed. Whether it is success in the field of commerce or anywhere else, we

The Universal
Worship of
Success.

worship success; and we worship it because success is always associated with material gain; and also because success is that kind of thing which is supposed to stamp a man or a woman as

something cleverer or more superior than his fellow men or women. I do not care what walk of life we enter, whether it is journalism, or whether it is in the workshop, or whether—if Bishop Gore will let me say so—it is in the Church; the men who are counted to be a success are those who climb to the top. There are many—very many—curates, and many Nonconformist ministers slogging away in slum districts, up against tremendous odds, who never get heard of. These are counted failures, because they never become Canons, Deans, or President of a Conference, or some other fine thing.

I want this morning, right at the outset, to say that in my judgment the thing that is wrong with the world today is our theory of values. The only

A Wrong Theory value that I count worth having in life
of Values. is, how much a man or a woman has

done to serve the community in which he is a part. The only test of real greatness is that of

service. Nothing else is in my judgment of any worth at all.

I have been associated with the Trade Union Movement, been a member of one Union for nearly thirty years now. I am a trustee of a great "unskilled" Union. I know men within its ranks whose names will never be known, but who, week in and week out, day in and day out, have one idea in front of them, and that is to build up their organisation, for quite an impersonal motive, the motive being to lift their class, to raise the men and women amongst whom they live.

I think myself that to ask us to question whether religion is implicit in the Labour Movement is quite wrong. I think that it is there, whether

The Most it is expressed in the manner that the
Thoroughly Bishop might want to express religion,
Religious. or that Mr. Stead might wish to express religion. Whether it is that or not, the

one outstanding fact remains, that there are multitudes of unknown men and women imbued with the doctrines of brotherhood, comradeship and love who are never heard of; many of whom never go to a church, never go to a chapel, never attend a religious service, and yet in my judgment are among the most thoroughly religious people you can meet anywhere in the world.

That has all grown up because the Trade Union Movement itself is based on the doctrine of brotherhood. It is a fine thing to remember—at least I like

The Basis of to remember—that Maurice and Kings-
Trade Unionism. ley, the first Christian Socialists in this country, stood by the early Trade Union

Movement in defiance of everybody in their day, and wholeheartedly, with George Jacob Holyoake, and scores of other middle-class men, held up the banner of combination and co-operation for those men, and instilled into them the doctrine that unity and co-operation were what they had to strive for. The movement, like all other movements, started very tiny indeed, and only concerned the men in a particular craft. I came into the Trade Union Movement as an unskilled person. I was working as an unskilled labourer when I joined the Union of which I am

still a member, as, although my position in life is changed, I am still allowed to retain my membership. It was not till thirty years ago that the unskilled workers began to wake up and organise. At the beginning it was rather a close corporation that the Trade Unions built up, the Engineers or Typographical men, or the Ironfounders, one trade or another, and all were very exclusive.

From Sectional to Universal. But within the Trade Union they were just one solid body thinking of what was for the good of all. People grumble at the minimum wage. They grumble about the limitation of output. But the real truth behind that is that workmen forming a Trade Union think it is their business to defend the weakest of their members as well as the strongest. They put before themselves the idea of a united body of men working to bring better conditions. But, just like the rest of us, I hope we gain knowledge as they have gained knowledge. They understand now that society is something very different from just a section here and a section there, and instead of the working class movement engaging in what is called sectional organisation, it is now organising itself in one solid mass.

And that is really what people talk of as the danger of the present day, the danger that the working class will become too strong. As a matter of fact, there is not very much danger, so long as the working class throws down every barrier and welcomes within its ranks every form and sort of craft and industry that there is; because outside the working class I should very much like to know who there is worth while. I would very much like to know what is the use of talking of other classes when the working class as a class has within its ranks every form of industry.

And that is really the point that we have come to now. And we have come to it largely owing to the development of the economic condition, and also largely owing to the idealism preached by men like William Morris, Hyndman, and other Socialists in this country. You may think of Morris as an economist. Think of him as

you like. I like to think of him as one of the great idealists of the nineteenth century. You may think of Hyndman as a materialist, but I think of him as the middle-class man who forsook his class and has stood four-square with the working class all these years. None of us will agree with everything either of these men say or do. Thank goodness, nobody agrees with what I say or do! But I am perfectly certain that these two men will live in the memory of the people of our country as the men who put before them the ideal that we had to strive for.

What is that ideal? I consider it is the ideal contained in the Sermon on the Mount. The amazing thing in these days to me, at any rate, is, that there is

The Ideal— so much thorough-paced self-righteousness amongst us all. There is a sort of
What? theory abroad that all the evil that has

fallen upon the world has come from one source and one source alone; that if only that particular source could have been dried up previous to 1914, all would have been well. If that is true—then the source must have been everywhere! Because in my judgment the reason we are in the position we are to-day is to be found in the fact that society is organised on a lie. It is

Society Organ- organised on the lie that we cannot get
ised on a Lie! our daily bread in sufficient quantity unless we compete and struggle and fight

and maim one another to get it. I believe, on the contrary, that the only way to get our daily bread in sufficient quantity is to co-operate to get it, to come together in the bonds of co-operation and say, "I go to my daily toil not for my own service but for the service of all, in which I am included." And instead of industry being organised on the basis of beggar-my-neighbour competition, it must be organised on the basis of common service for the whole of the common people. And when I read the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, I remember that there was a Bishop who once said that all those teachings were unpractical! I do not believe they are unpractical. To show whether the practical men and women have done

much for the world, look at the condition of the world to-day and see where the practical people

The Sermon on the Mount Terribly Vindicated. have brought us! I believe we are in that condition because we have not taken the Sermon on the Mount as the guiding star of our lives, and because we

have refused to believe that it is possible to live as brothers and sisters should live. I believe implicitly, and I believe it can be expressed explicitly, in the Fatherhood of God, in the Brotherhood of Man, and in the fact that men and women can co-operate, if they will, so that there need be neither wars abroad nor class wars at home. And I believe further that until not the working class only, but all classes, realise that, we shall not get very much further along the road of progress. Because, as I see it, it is not one nation or one section, but all people that have sinned, me as well as other people: we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God. And I look on sin,

The Biggest Sin. the biggest sin in the world, as this: it is the denial, by the working everyday life, of this doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man. Because, friends, if I believe in the Fatherhood of God, how can I do evil to my fellow man and woman? If I believe in the Brotherhood of Man, how can I injure my brother or my sister?

How is the Labour Movement expressing this? I want to join with the Chairman in saying that strikes and all the labour disputes through which men

Labour Idealism. have passed are but the outward and visible sign of the class struggle, the class war, that goes on day in and day out. They are but the expression of the vicious sort of life which men and women are doomed to. I want to set against that the idealism that is in the Labour and Socialist Movement. They stand to express the truth that the world is to be re-built not on competition but on co-operation. They stand to say that instead of the world being divided into skilled and unskilled, with all the gradations between on which society is built, we ought to have a society in which men and women are at least equal in the matter of getting their daily bread, in which there will be neither poor people

nor millionaires. Both are a crime in the twentieth century; and the one is a necessary consequence of the other.

My time is practically up, but I want to say one word about the seriousness of the position in which we find ourselves to-day. Everyone here can understand that without production there is **"Produce More!"** Certainly, but— nothing for any of us in the world. The Labour Movement stands certainly for more production; but it wants production of the right sort. Does anybody here imagine that if during the War there had been a million people out of work, and you wanted munitions, that the Government would have gone on paying out-of-work pay? They would have

—Organise organised that labour in order to produce the things they needed to carry on the War. It is monstrous to talk of un-

employment and wanting more production at the same time. Why aren't we getting on with more production? Who is stopping it? It is being stopped because our society does not believe that religion is implicit anywhere, but believes that money-making is explicit everywhere. That is the thing that is wrong, and until you get rid of that there is no hope at all. And when people say we must get the working class to work harder, let us remember a simple economic fact. I have stood in this hall with it packed with women from end to end. I have gone out with Mr. and Mrs. Stead and crowds of women from here when they were starving for food, for clothes, for everything that people needed. And the ware-

—and Distribute houses and shops were full of everything they needed! And we are being told now, "Let's produce, and produce!"

There is no remedy for poverty except we get rid of the causes of poverty, and the causes of poverty are anti-Christian causes. When I read the New Testament, in spite of the fact that I feel I am getting old now, I want to go out into the streets and shout in the ears of the people, "Turn ye! Turn ye! Why will ye die?" Come back to the Galilean! He was the greatest revolutionary

force of His times. He broke out and destroyed all the smug respectability of the people who said, "Let things be! Don't stir them up, because something evil may happen." He stirred them up, and you and

Back to the Galilean! I are here to-day because He stirred them up. I believe, too that He lives now to give men and women the revolutionary spirit. I don't believe in a religion of mere materialism, because materialism in the long run, to me, means seeking my own. I set against that the doctrine of service: "Let him who would be greatest amongst you be servant of all." When mankind, not only the Labour Movement—again I hope Bishop Gore will forgive me—but when from the Archbishop downwards right through society all of us say we want only to be servants of the community, we don't want big houses for ourselves, we don't want great parks for ourselves, we are willing to live amongst the ordinary common rut of men, helping to bear their lives, helping to share their troubles—when you get that spirit you will have religion explicit in the world. It is not explicit to-day, because we have not enough courage and faith, we have not enough belief in our own gospel. Our own gospel tells us that we have to go out into the world and preach the gospel; not get on and get rich! We have got to preach the gospel that you and I are part of one another; my life is no good unless yours is good; yours is not good unless my life is good.

The Movement in India,

BY

B. P. WADIA

(of the Madras Labour Union).

Our Trade Union Movement in India is a very young movement; it has been in existence only for the last eighteen months or so. We have a few Unions now in the city of Madras, with a membership of some twenty thousand people. I have had the honour and the privilege of organising these poor people, and have had a singular opportunity of knowing their points of view in many matters.

You have heard over and over again about India, that there the religious point of view is fundamental, and is exceedingly strong. That is so. Among

Indian Trade Unions, Religious. the poor people, I speak with a certain personal experience, the religious point of view is not merely idealistic, not only producing a vision, but is applied in a very practical fashion. The Trade Union Movement there is fundamentally a religious movement. I will tell you first of the practical effect of the religious beliefs of our labourers on their life, in their work and in their organisation.

All of you have heard that the working classes in all parts of the world want to make progress and get on.

We had a private discussion once at our **"Getting On" in Europe.** Labour Union headquarters in the city of Madras, and we discussed the question as to what we meant by getting on in the Labour world. You know what the general idea is. I may be wrong—I speak here tentatively because I have been only a few weeks in this country—but your general idea everywhere, not only among the workers, but in all strata of society, is to get on to the level next to the one in which you are at the present moment. Each man wants to get out of his particular rut of life and take the next step in advance. The clerk wants to get out of that groove of existence and become an assistant manager, and so on right up to the Cabinet Minister, who aims at becoming the Prime Minister. That, it seems to me, is the general desire of your European culture.

We have in India a somewhat different point of view, which, it seems to me, is of great value and help to all the European nations in the solution of some

The Contrast in India. of their problems, and certainly in the ushering in of the new social order to which you are looking forward. What is that point of view? A Trade Unionist in Madras, in the discussion which we had, brought out this point. A speaker got up and said, "I don't want to leave my spinning department and go to a better paid weaving department and become a weaver. I want to do my work so that out of

that work I get what is necessary for me to become an honourable man in that particular profession."

That is the peculiar point of view that the Indians generally possess. And it is rooted in their religious faith. Other people do not want to get **East and West.** on, unless we come to the classes which are at the present called the educated classes in India, and by the educated classes in India we mean classes who are educated along Western lines and by Western methods of education. So that when you come to your "discontented B.A.'s" as they are called, your graduates who go round seeking for a job for £1 a month, there you get the same kind of idea, the same point of view which you possess. They want to get on in life along a different line, which I would like to call the vertical line of progress rather than the horizontal line of remaining in the same profession to which he belongs and improving his condition by moral forces within himself. That is the peculiar point of view of the Indian, and I want to give you the causes which bring out that particular point of view, fundamentally belonging to the religious temperament of the Indian people.

Take the great doctrine of Dharma, a word that is translated by various oriental scholars in this country in many ways. Some have translated it as **Dharma.** law, others as duty, others as religion. It is an untranslatable word. It is an idea. It contains a whole philosophy. And the outcome of that philosophy is this peculiar and particular point of view about which I want to speak.

We believe in the philosophy that we have been here in this globe of ours many times before, and that we are going to be born many times in the hereafter; that we are not bodies of flesh and blood and nerve and tissue, that we are not bundles of feelings and emotions, of fears and hatreds, of loves and sympathies; that we are not a conglomeration of reason and intelligence; that we are not even a collection of intuitions and aspirations; but that all these are the instruments of the man within, the soul, which is Divine; the spirit, which is unfolding its mighty powers with the help of all these instruments and channels.

That is our peculiar point of view. It may sound complicated and highly philosophical to you, but it is a common thing held by the tiller on the land or the worker in the factory. That is the philosophy which is in our very blood.

What is the result of it? The result of it is in the ideal to which Mr. Lansbury referred, the ideal of the

Brotherhood of Man—but a practical realisation of that brotherhood. We

Democracy Within the Caste. often hear in this country that India is

hopelessly divided into castes and sub-castes and classes of all sorts and kinds. Believe me when I tell you that our castes contain within themselves the germ of a real democracy and brotherhood which your classes do not possess. I will tell you in a moment why. Take our four great castes, in which people rich and poor, learned and ignorant, wise and foolish, all are. Now take a practical example. Take a caste dinner. You will find, for instance, in any big caste, say, the Brahman caste, you have the learned people, landlords, and lawyers, on the one side, you have got cooks and sweepers on the other, and all the stages that lie between. There are Brahmanas belonging to all kinds of professions, to all kinds of industries, doing all kinds of work. They are rich, they are poor. But when a caste dinner takes place, the Brahmana landlord does not say, I am not going to sit next to the Brahmana sweeper. He dare not say it, he cannot say it, he does not say it. There you find the basis of another kind of democracy than that towards which you are aspiring. Your class distinction is much more rigid than our caste distinction. I admit our caste distinctions are rigid in another direction. For instance, a Brahman priest will not allow his son to marry a daughter of a Kshatriya, but he will allow his son to marry the daughter of a Brahmana cook. That is where the real democracy of the caste comes in.

Let me give you this particular and peculiar idea of democracy which works itself out. Our labourers, our

To Get On Spiritually.

poor people, believe that they are in a particular sphere, born into this particular life, to fulfil their Dharma, not to get rich, not to get on in the world, but to so use their own powers, the moral law within them,

to unfold those powers to such an extent that they may realise in a better fashion, by practical experience, the Fatherhood of God, to which Mr. Lansbury made reference. They want to develop not because they want to get on from the material point of view, but because they want to get on from the spiritual point of view. You find therefore that the poor people, the illiterate people as they are called, have a certain culture of their own: these people are in a way seekers after God. The people of India are very eager for spiritual realisation, and therefore for religious enlightenment. And in that spirit our people are working.

But that spirit vanishes when once again you come to the strata of society educated along Western lines and by Western methods. Let me say, I am a **Nationalism Pro- believer** in Western methods of education. I know the great good that Western education has done. One thing it has done, alas! it has brought about a spirit of materialistic thought, of materialistic ideas among the people of India. But we are getting out of it; because the whole nationalistic movement which at the present moment is so strong in India, is itself rooted in the soil of religious beliefs. You find, for instance, the whole national movement in India has evolved in a very peculiar and very harmonious manner. First you found great religious movements sprang up years and years ago, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Mission. Then followed the educational work. National institutions belonging to these great movements sprang up. Then came the great forward movement for social reform, followed by practical social service, and ultimately the real live movement of political thought. You may be aware that the political movement in India is rather old. It is said to have begun in 1876, or even earlier. You will find all the Government officials, all the people who have to do with methods and system of administration, testify that a great change in political matters in India has taken place in the last five or ten years. Though the political movement was going on for many years, it really fructified when the religious move-

ment showed its adequate results. When the educational movement developed and social work went on, then naturally the masses of people turned their attention to political reform. So you find that the whole

India's Contribution. Indian society is reared on a religious foundation, and as Dr. Miller, one of your great Christian missionaries, said years and years ago, India has made a splendid contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world. India has contributed, he said, the immanence of God and the solidarity of man as practical ideals of life. That, then, is the basis from which our Indian working classes make progress. They believe in the individual unfolding himself in a practical fashion, with religious ideals.

And they believe not only in the brotherhood idea for social welfare work, but also in the idea of the brotherhood of religions. For instance, in our Trade

A Brotherhood of Religions. Unions we have got Hindus of all classes and castes. We have got Muslims, we have got Indian Christians, we have got Anglo-Indians, and I am a Parsi myself, practically leading the movement in Madras. There is no question of anti-religious feeling springing up, because we believe, as it is out in the *Gita*, in words that are familiar to our working classes, "On whatever road a man travels, he approaches Me along that road." That is the teaching. A Hindu may tread the path to God along his own line of belief, a Muslim along his, a Christian along his, a Parsi along his, but all lines lead to God. That is the concept that we have, and so we have not got any struggle between the various religions in India; and in that vast continent we have got practically all the great religions of the world. We have got the bulk of the population Hindus, we have got seventy million followers of Islam, we have got the Jains, and the Sikhs, and the Buddhists, we have got Christians, not only those who have come into the Christian faith as the result of the work that your missionaries have done, but we have an ancient colony of Christians in the south of India practically dating from six hundred years after Christ. We have got followers of all these faiths living together, co-operating in the work of social

uplift and political emancipation. And we believe in the practical immanence of God, and therefore, in brotherhood. We believe that all of us, whatever our faith—and that seems to me to be the great hope for the Indian spiritual message going abroad into the world.

We believe that every single human being, man, woman and child, is a Divine fragment; that they have taken incarnation in a body of flesh, growing gradually, slowly, maybe very slowly, to the status of Divinity and of Godhead; and that our business is to help each other to bring light where light is needed—and, what is more, to receive light. For the outcome of this philosophy is that we have not the idea, "We are the teachers and others must learn from us"; but that all of us are learners as well as teachers. If we believe in every human being being a fragment of Godhead, then each has something to teach to every other fragment. Because of that belief, we look out for the spiritual message that men and women have to give to us.

That is our outlook; and one of the great arguments, to my mind one of the greatest arguments for the political emancipation of India, is this: we want home rule or self-government for our country, not because we would be benefited or build up our industries or have better education or prosperity, though these all will result from it; but because we feel that we have a message to give to the world, a mission to fulfil in the world, a message and a mission which are peculiar to us, a message of a spiritual character, a mission of a spiritual nature, and we cannot give that message or fulfil that mission unless the fetters which at present bind us into political slavery are broken and we are free. We feel that in this great age of reconstruction, when the great commonwealths of Europe and America, and of Asia, have to contribute something as a message to a new social order, to a new reconstructed world which is to arise out of the one devastated by war, we have a message to give and we want to give it. For the giving of that which we possess we realise to a certain extent in our own country we want freedom of

expression. We do not want only to give a message, but to receive a message from the other nations of the world. And for that reason we claim India's place among the nations of the world. But I want you to realise that it is a religious movement, and the masses of India are steeped in the religious outlook. We want to enrich our own religious outlook and also of the world.

The Urgent Need of Moral Education,

BY

SENATOR VINCK, Belgium.*

The effort and endeavour you are making can have a very great influence on democracy, and especially on the Labour Movement. But as we are here to give sincerely and frankly our opinion, I will tell you what is the position in our Belgian workmen's movements and in the Latin world. I think that this movement will succeed only if it has a very large basis. We are not here to convince one another of the supremacy of one or other method. We are not here, I think, to say that we have the only, or even the best method to obtain moral education. I think that we are here to find a common basis, a great international common basis for moral education. We have all of us the conviction that there is a great need in the world for moral education, and we must make this confession that, till now, it seems that mankind and human societies have not found the way to make men moral beings. Therefore it would be a great pretension to say that any one of us has the real method, because mankind has had time enough to apply this method and obtain good results.

**Wide Basis
Needed—**

**—for Moral
Education.**

* M. Vinck came at the request and in the place of M. Vandervelde.

Now let me tell you what is our position on this question. We—the great majority in Belgium and France and Italy and in Latin countries generally—

Latin Mostly we are in great measure agnostics.
Agnostic. Surely that is due to our historical political religious and Church movements.

We are not responsible for it. But it is so. And if you like to make an international movement, I must tell you that it will not succeed in our countries if you have to base it on Church movements. It may succeed here. I do not know your conditions. It may succeed in other countries. The Churches may be not at

Accepted Rules all the same as in our country. But I
not dare to say that in our country it will

Disputed Origins. not succeed if it is not purely a morally educational movement, leaving it to the freedom of everyone to find the origin of those transcendental moral rules. And I think that if we take this standard in the beginning of our work we can have an immense international success, leaving to every sect and to every Church and to every personal believer to expound the origin, the reason, of the moral rule itself.

Let me say that it was the enormous commotion of the War that brought me and other friends to the opinion that our democracy, and especially our
German Culture Labour Movement, did not give sufficient
Non-Moral. importance to the moral question. It appeared, in the first weeks of the War,

through the tragic deception of the attitude of the German world. I was before the War an admirer of Germany. But more and more as it appeared it struck me that German civilisation was purely cerebral and technical culture in service of an immense vanity and directed by the rules of a neo-Machiavellianism. It was no surprise to me to make those statements about the psychology and feelings and methods of the High Staff of German military feudalism. But I had never believed that the working class and its leaders would have adopted the same philosophy. The working class and its leaders, so accustomed to

criticise, how could they accept that general philosophy of

Success "Success, whatever the means!" that
versus Duty. was the characteristic German attitude? If other Labour Movements in other countries were to adopt the same philosophy, what would become of us? The conclusion was for me that if above our individual or national egoism we do not recognise certain transcendental rules of moral conduct, there is no great difference between men and animals, save the perfection of our brain and technique. Happily the German plan did not succeed, but all over the world they have spread the poisonous illusion of anti-democratic and non-moral doctrines. They have tried everywhere, and are still busy trying, to destroy the notion of duty and to appeal only to the desire for success. What we have to teach is exactly the notion of duty, dignity and solidarity, and the question for this Conference is how to make it explicit in the Labour Movement.

My opinion is that the Labour of the world has to make its own proclamation. Who could do it better? We have to proclaim the dignity of the effort,
Labour must measured not by its personal success but
Speak for by its social utility—the necessary solid-
Itself. arity between men. Who could do it better than the labourers? It will

already be a great thing if, above all, the Labour propaganda puts as its aim the conquest of a better ethical world, acknowledging at the same time that all other programmes and methods are but means of getting the higher civilisation. That ought to be the first article of our international programme.

Here comes the question: must this proclamation of transcendental duties have what one is accustomed to call a religious embodiment, and must it be understood that, without religious embodiment, our efforts would lose their virtue—religion being understood in the sense of revelation by Divinity? I suppose nobody here will be of this opinion. It must be left free to everybody to have his opinion about the origin of our moral rules. Let us leave this as the field of the un-

Where
Agreement
is Possible.

known, and let us give all our application to find how we shall obtain that men and groups act in accordance with those rules. In my opinion this is far more important than to discuss origins. You may be a very good theologian and know your apologetic from beginning to end, and yet be in practical life a man or group acting at variance with moral rules. Are not the

Not Instruction Prussians the best example of this?

but Conduct. They surely did not lack teaching and discussion. Do the possessing classes in the world, do the most brutal capitalists, lack instruction? Are they not all, I say all, pillars and protectors of one or other Church? How, then, could we have any confidence in the virtue of the Church by itself?

No; our opinion is that what has to be found is the method to be used to obtain morally acting men. We have still to find out the orthodoxy of

How to Make moral teaching. Moral training has to
Men Moral. become a science and art, just as manual training is, and physical training is.

We have admirably advanced during a whole century in physical training. Every effort in this direction receives official and private encouragement. We have for our children half a dozen teachers: for hands, manual training; for legs, running; for feet, playing; for throat, singing, etc. But in which school is moral training organised—I mean systematically, scientifically organised? No doubt we all know that it is more difficult to obtain that a child who lies should lose this vice than to obtain that it should cleverly use its fourth finger at the piano or its feet to play football. Is it not known that in a village with a good schoolmaster or a good ecclesiastic the spirit will be quite different from that in the adjoining village where those personal qualities do not exist? Did we not see it in Belgium with the number of young people going to the Front, and the attitude of farmers selling their products—glory in one village, shame in another? Surely religion *in itself* had no influence. I can myself say that the attitude of farmers has been the best in non-believing districts.

Besides the moral teaching in Churches, family and

school are the two great factors of moral influence. The school has to play in our democracy a totally other work than it is doing now. Otherwise it might be that with a great intelligence, with a better scientific teaching, we should be morally lower than in past centuries. We must not forget that the patriarchal family and group teaching is nearly lost to-day, through the tremendous complexity of our life, and the possibilities and necessities for the parents to leave the home and for the children to leave the family. The educational power of example, of intimate family conversation during the long evenings of past centuries, is nearly lost. We must find something to take its place, otherwise the minds will become more and more cerebral, our children will be the prey of sterile and negative discussion, the conscience will dry out because it has lost the sense of life.

Less knowledge and more education!

Less cerebral pretension and more duty-feeling!

I beg pardon that I speak of this question of education when I speak of practical measures to be proposed to Labour Movements. Let me end with

Let Labour Groups Study—practical purposes. First we should ask all the Labour sections of the world to study these moral problems, and to agree to the reduction of a special proclamation on the subject. Second, we should make an international inquiry on moral educational methods through the Labour groups and Labour men, and ask all the Labour groups to take special measures to help and promote the movement. And I insist

upon it that our request must not be a timid endeavour. We must obtain that the official organisations, the leading men, take position on the question. Therefore I think that the best way would be that the British organisations should take matters in hand and officially put the question before the other groups of the world. I do not mean that a special group like this may not be a militant section internationally, but I think that we will obtain no real success unless we utilise the Labour organisations themselves.

Three Principles of the Faith of Labour,

BY

BISHOP CHARLES GORE.

I propose to address myself very precisely to the subject which was given : The Religion Implicit in the Labour Movement—Can it be made explicit and put into definite statements?

That is a very difficult proposition. I suppose that the spirit of the Labour Movement may be succinctly expressed as well as in any other way in the popular cry, "Not charity, but justice!"

A Characteristic "Cry." which contains a good deal of history. Because how shall we account for that deformation of the idea of charity which is involved in such a cry? Charity, rightly considered, is nothing else but justice with a heart in it. But we understand very well the origin of the cry. It was rooted in the acceptance of a condition of society in which there were privileged classes who had the best opportunities of life, and side by side with them a vast mass of the population who laboured for them under conditions of the greatest economic insecurity, on the edge of destitution, with nothing beyond the meagrest opportunities of education. And that condition of things being accepted meant that the privileged classes out of their superfluity might, according to a certain pitifulness of their disposition, assist this or that class of destitution, or this or that instance of destitution, with more or less success. The whole theory which is succinctly referred to by that word "charity" was based on a rotten foundation. And it is this fact which is expressed in that cry of "Not charity, but justice!" Because justice means equality

Equality in What? of opportunity. Justice means that in God's sight and in the realities of the universe every man counts for one and no one counts for more than one. Equality is in a certain sense a perfectly vain ideal, because it is contradicted by facts. It has been said very truly that if we were able to make people equal in position on Monday morning, they would be unequal

again by Saturday night, because of the inequality of our faculties. Any true doctrine of equality means equality of opportunity, that every man should have an equal chance of making the best of himself or herself, or realising his or her faculties. And civilisation is worthy of the name in proportion as it realises that ideal. The realisation of

that ideal means a tremendous revolution—a peaceful revolution or otherwise, as circumstances may turn out, but a revolution on the largest scale. And I suppose those of us who are gathered together are in favour of that revolution. (Applause.) Very well. Then I may assume we are all agreed. The Labour Movement is inspired by noble and fruitful cries such as that, "Not charity, but justice," and for my own part I desire cordially to cheer it on to the realisation of its cries. Whether it has or whether it has not a religion inherent in it which can be made explicit in any way, whether it is to be a movement on the Indian basis which has been expounded to us, whether it is to be a movement on the agnostic basis which has been expounded to us from Belgium, or whatever be the basis, I say deliberately I desire to cheer it forward. Anyway, let men try the democratic ideal. But of course I suppose we who are collected here to-day are here because we are extraordinarily conscious that it does need an explicit basis of principle, and the question is whether we can make that articulate. I say we are all alive to the dangers of the situation. It is

Difficulties : extraordinarily easier to destroy than to build. It is indeed a difficult task when
Destructive and Constructive. that which you wish to destroy is as deeply rooted as the organisation of industry is in our civilised communities. It is not an easy task to destroy. But of course the fact that it is not an easy task to accomplish a revolution may lead to destructive methods, which succeed in destroying but do not succeed in rebuilding. Hard as it is to destroy, it is very much harder to rebuild; and the consciousness of this, I think, makes a great many of us who are heart and soul in the Labour cause profoundly anxious. And without in any way colouring our loyalty to the Labour cause, we are

most anxious that it should ask itself what are its principles. What are its implicit principles? Can it make them explicit? So that they can have the force which principles only have when they are recognised and acknowledged, if not by whole nations, then by groups.

That is the question which I desire to try and help this group of people to answer for themselves. Is there a

What is True religion implicit in the Labour Movement : and, if so, can it be made explicit?
of England. And in the main I am speaking for England; and the internationalism of the

movement ought not to be hindered by the different colour which more or less it is compelled to take in different nations. I listened with the greatest interest to Mr. Wadia, and I listened with the greatest interest to Senator Vinck. I quite recognise the measure of truth of what they were saying as applied to their own country, and I am quite sure that the Labour Movement must be international. But at the same time I am quite sure that that international movement must take more or less different colourings in different nations : and I am speaking, as I say, in the main for England, and the conditions about which I know—not much, but something—of my own country. And there are three propositions

Three tions which I should like to advance,
Propositions. with conviction as regards their truth, but with great uncertainty as regards their acceptability, because we are living in an age of criticism, in which the critical faculties are enormously stronger than the constructive faculties. You must recognise that. I am sure it is true. But that is not the character of every age; and very often ages of destruction have to precede ages of reconstruction. At the present moment I am not at all hopeful about the establishment of anything that could be called a creed of Labour. Still, there are certain signs which make me hopeful, at any rate at times.

I want to advance three proposition. First—if I may

refer to the speech of one whom I never hear without having stirred in me a great warmth of
1. Brotherhood and Fatherhood. spirit—Mr. George Lansbury coupled together, as he always couples the twin propositions, the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. And yet, though I am quite sure that the two propositions are at bottom interdependent, yet I think it would make the greatest possible difference if that interdependence could be recognised.

The Brotherhood of Man is a very difficult thing—an easy thing to talk about, yet an extraordinarily difficult thing to realise. I know a friend of mine who said St. John made a very unwise remark when he said, "If we love not our brother whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen?" because for his own part he never found it difficult to love people until he had seen them! That is extraordinarily true. To love your brother when you have seen him and found a great number of causes of difference, that is extraordinarily difficult. And it is extraordinarily difficult in the Labour Movement. We see evidence of that to-day. It is extraordinarily difficult in every kind of movement. You can get up a cry for the interests of a class very much more easily than you can establish any basis of brotherhood which is real. To my mind, I am quite sure that the real hope of brotherhood lies in the belief that brotherhood is not merely a hope or dream that has generated itself in the heart of man, but represents the Purpose of the universe, that it has got behind it the Will and Purpose which is working in the whole universe of things. And that is the meaning of the Fatherhood of God, substantially.

I know that there you are fighting against a great force. It was, of course, Huxley who, when I was young, derided the current ideas about the love of God :
Huxley's Cosmic Theory. that is to say, that the great Force which makes and rules the world, the mighty Energy of the universe, was Love, or had any moral characteristic at all. He said our great business was to fight the physical forces of the universe. That was what the moral nature of man was. It was not in harmony with the universe. There was a great war to

be waged against universal force : which was only saved from being esteemed a bloodthirsty tyrant by the knowledge that it was totally indifferent, unconscious, mechanical. And that cry has been repeated in our time by Bertram Russell, and in a certain phase of Mr. Wells, though I should rather gather from the last book of his that he has outgrown that phase. He outgrows his phases rather rapidly. It is a question. It is the question. I have no real hope at all for any movement which

Is there Purpose in the Universe? is a defiance of the universe. It appears to me to be magnificent, but not war. After all, so far as man is simply a tiny bit of the universe, the universe is far too big for him, and will swallow him up without being conscious of it. It is not in a generation that any transformation of values or transformation of society is going to be accomplished. The question is, Is there a slow growing purpose in the universe, a Purpose of God, who made and moves all things, with which I can co-operate? That is the meaning of the Fatherhood of God. And I have no real hope of progress unless I have reason to believe and am prepared to state the conviction that the Power which made and rules the world is the good Will of God working for good and calling to me to co-operate.

That is the first proposition that I want to know whether we are prepared to make explicit. That means, are we prepared really to say that after

Will England rally to the Cry? all, Joseph Mazzini was the greatest prophet of modern democracy, because among other things he saw that so clearly. He was not so very successful in propagating it. Nevertheless he saw that clearly, and it is my profound conviction that he saw truly. And I think that is the first great question that I should like to ask. Is that truth implicit in the Labour Movement? I have no doubt it is. Can it be made explicit? Can we rally to the cry? In England I really am not without hope. It seems to me that people are prepared to couple the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God.

In the second proposition, we know that in England

the name of Jesus Christ is a name hardly ever received without enthusiasm in the Labour Movement. (Applause.) Very well. **2. The Leadership of Jesus.** Christ stands for the great principle that in God's sight every man counts for one and no one counts for more than one. He stands for the true principle of spiritual equality of persons and for the Brotherhood of Man. Mr. Lansbury spoke about the Sermon on the Mount. Of course the Sermon on the Mount most markedly connects as parts of an indissoluble whole its doctrine about man, with the belief in God. And that is the next proposition that I want to put forward, or the next question that I want to ask. Can we rally the Labour Movement to the recognition of the moral sovereignty and leadership of Jesus Christ?

You know how it was that the Christians got to the first creed, Jesus is Lord. They had been attracted by Him, and won by Him; but later they had seen Him fail when He came up against the great class interests which were opposed to Him. When they found out how great a change He was asking in their lives, the common people who had heard Him gladly deserted Him. Thus He found Himself with very few followers, and those faint-hearted, and He died on that cross of shame without a soul, so it seemed, believing on His claims, except a robber by His side and perhaps one or two of His disciples and His mother. But then, after a few days, they are found believing that the death of Jesus was no ultimate failure, that death had not held Him, that He was risen. More than that, though it sounds incredible, that He was in a position of moral sovereignty, and that the destinies of the world were in His hands! So they formulated their first creed thus, Jesus is Lord. Well, I am not here to talk about the theological implications of that statement. Taking it in its most often used sense, the belief in the moral sovereignty of Jesus Christ over all men and over all the ages, that idea is implicit in the Labour Movement. That is to say, I believe no movement will ever reach its goal with any measure of permanent success except under the blessing and strength of His Name. Can that be made explicit?

3. If you had asked any one of those early Christians what it was to be a Christian, what made it worth while to run the risk of being a Christian—

The Third Proposition. and you never get true Christianity except when Christianity is recognised as a danger, when it is a "dangerous profession"—if you had asked any of those early Christians what it meant to be a Christian, I fancy you would have got one of two answers, either that it meant the belief that Jesus is Lord, or that it meant the belief in the arrival of His Spirit. Very well, then. There is a very widespread feeling, very much wider than the limits of our religious bodies and organisations, that the Spirit of God, the Spirit which is in Jesus Christ, has not deserted or left the world, and that the very purpose for which the Church was formed was that, inspired by His Spirit, it might carry out His Word, and work for the Kingdom of God. That is the third proposition that I seem to feel implicit in the Labour Movement, the belief in an organising, guiding, enriching Spirit which is the Spirit of Jesus. It is the Spirit of God moving and working in the hearts of men.

And when I am hopeful—which is not always, because I think faith and charity are extraordinarily easy virtues, but hope nearly an impossible virtue—

My Hope for Labour. but when I am hopeful I seem to see the Labour Movement becoming more and more conscious that it needs the belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Mastery of Jesus and the power and presence of the Spirit.

I am quite sure that if the organised Churches are to gauge the best conscience of men and women to-day, they must develop those three propositions

The Best Conscience of To-day. and make them living and active and real propositions. I do not believe that the mass of men who are either inside or outside of the Churches are there because of metaphysical considerations, but because they find that the word which is there spoken is the word which goes to their hearts and corresponds to their practical necessities.

I think those are the three basal propositions of the

religion which at the present moment men will find to help and for which they will therefore be easily won.

I have said what I want to say. I am tremendously conscious, as I have already said, of the difficulties of getting any religious propositions made

Friends of Labour explicit in the Labour Movement. But **Ready to Unite.** I am conscious that there are in every

city that I have occasion to visit a great many people who are heart and soul with the Labour Movement on its broad lines, and at the same time are profoundly conscious of its perils. They know that democracy is a great adventure which has not been realised. They know that though you may have destructive movements which corrupt civilisation, yet these movements have not the necessary power of reconstruction. They see the perils in the movement, and they are profoundly conscious that there is one Name of social salvation, and it is the Name of the Father, and the Name of Jesus Christ His Son, and the Name of the Holy Spirit.

I wonder whether we could not do something much more vigorous and definite in the way of organising all

To Organise persons who want to fight under that banner. There are a great many movements for religious re-union that I do not
Those who are much believe in. There are a great
at One. many proposals in the name of religion

which for various reasons I do not much believe in. But I do not believe we have gone one-tenth part of the way we might have gone in organising the people who are at one in all religious bodies, or without specific religious adhesion, who are at one in believing in the Labour Movement, and also at one in feeling that its success ultimately depends upon its having not merely dimly and remotely implicit in it, but explicit, as its ground of practical enthusiasm and solidarity, the sort of religious profession, undefined but real, which I have tried to express. Whether that is possible, and in what precise ways it is possible, I have not time to elaborate. But that is the way in which, not without trembling and doubt, most hopefully I can express an answer to that question, Are there religious principles implicit in the Labour Movement, and can they be made explicit?

W. H. EASTMAN, of Hull.

I want to put myself right with you at the very onset. I am not a Labour leader. I am the labourer himself, who has a clear Trade Union card and

Once a a clear Friendly Society card, both
Workhouse Boy. being up to date; and whilst I am prepared to pay my levy and to obey, as far as possible, the reasonable demands of my leaders I am not prepared to surrender my conscience to them. I am quite prepared to do a little bit of thinking on my own account. I may say that I have depended upon my weekly wage for the support of my wife and ten children and myself right up to the present moment of time, from the time when as a workhouse boy I left the gates of the very workhouse where for twenty-six years I have been a member of the Board of Guardians, and where next year, all being well I shall be Chairman of the Board. I want to show you that I have gone through the mill, and that I am not out of it yet.

I feel very strongly with regard to the subject that is calling us together for consideration this morning—The

The Real Thing. Religion Implicit in the Labour Movement. It is simply that which has kept me in it. I recognised the real thing in the Trade Union Movement and in the Friendly Society Movement. In the initiation ceremony of a certain very large Friendly Society to which I belong, with seven hundred thousand or eight hundred thousand members, occur these words: "We are mutually bound together in the bonds of brotherhood for the purpose of assisting each other in distress." If that is not religion, I fail to understand what religion is. If that is not carrying out the injunction to bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ, I fail to understand what religion is.

I believe, too, that the religion which is implicit can be made explicit. And I make a suggestion, before I take my seat, as to a method that I think would **Explicit Religion.** be worthy of consideration, at least towards making the religion in the Labour Movement explicit. In the first place, may I say that I have tried to understand history in other times and

other countries, and I think one of the lessons of the great French Revolution was this, that democracy, or Labour, unchecked, irreligious and misled, can be as great a tyrant as the greatest autocracy that ever existed? History has left it on record that England was saved from the disaster of the French Revolution by the awakening of the spiritual life of the people under the preaching of Whitefield and Wesley. They went to the miners, and they appealed to the latent religion that lay in the hearts of the workers. And that appeal met with response. And I am certain that if the implicit religion contained in the Labour Movement was appealed to in the same forcible manner, it can be made explicit.

What I understand by the word "explicit" is, made plain, made apparent, instead of having to be inferred; and I am certain of this, and I have

A New Triple Alliance!

come to this conclusion after a mental Gethsemane and the burning of midnight oil and deep thought and prayer on the subject—that whilst the Labour Movement up to the present has not been materialistic, it is in danger of becoming so at the present moment, and I think that nothing will save the Labour Movement from becoming materialistic more than a direct appeal to the spiritual and to the deeper part of each one of us. I am going to make a very audacious suggestion, that the Browning Settlement Council should take into consideration the question of a Triple Alliance to deal with the religious question, just as we have triple alliances to deal with industrial questions. And the three bodies that I would recommend to the careful consideration of the Council are the Y.M.C.A., the Church Army, and the Salvation Army. If those three bodies could be united together and do with energy such work as they have done on our battle fronts, I am certain there would be a very huge response to the spiritual appeal of these people. I am not a member of any one of the three organisations, so I am not "talking shop." But these three organisations have got the ear and won the hearts of hundreds of thousands of our men

To "Go Among the People." who have been doing their bit and are now in the ranks of industry. I am certain that we could spend our time worse than by considering the question of

forming a Triple Alliance to go out into the world, not to stop within the churches and chapels, but to go out as Wesley and Whitefield did, and speak to the men in their mining villages and manufacturing centres. One thought that I had is this, and the Bishop gave expression to it in more beautiful language than I can employ. In fact I have proved it. I have addressed thousands of my fellow-workers up and down the country, and the mention of the name of Lansbury and Lloyd-George and Smillie and Thomas has caused dissension and discussion, but the Name of Jesus has united them together, and we have joined heartily together, in spite of all our differences of opinion, in the singing of that hymn :

" Jesus is worthy to receive
Honour and power divine,
And blessings more than we can give
Be, Lord, for ever Thine ! "

If we are ever to become one, we must become one in Christ Jesus. That is my judgment, acquired as a humble, hard-working man ; and there is no method, no organisation, that will help us to meet in the bonds of brotherhood like the discipleship of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Now say I am unpractical, an idealist, up in the clouds ! Aye ! Lansbury and Crooks and I—I say myself with all humility—were up in the clouds years ago when in the Guildhall, under the presidency of Lord Beauchamp, we fought for Old Age Pensions, and the Council and the Conference hooted us down and would not hear us. They called us idealists and dreamers. But Old Age Pensions came. They are not what they ought to be, by any means, but we got a start, and I am certain of this—that if we would spend the time and thought and money in reaching our fellows at home and showing them that there is something real and alive in the religion of Jesus Christ that was done on the battle fronts, we should be able to do something that would make the religion in the Labour Movement apparent and unmistakable.

A LADY.

Might I venture a few words? I think it can be crystalised into a very few words. Christ will come. He worked at a carpenter's bench. He scourged those who misused the temple, not because they were doing business, but because they were doing business in a corrupt and illegal and immoral manner. He said that true religion was to "love thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself." He did not say "thy Socialist neighbour, thy Capitalist neighbour, thy Liberal or thy Conservative neighbour." He said "thy neighbour," without any distinction. And if it were possible to love our neighbours even only a little as we love ourselves, there would be no strikes and no immoral oppression, nothing at all to prevent the world from becoming one brotherhood under one God of love.

E. C. FAIRCHILD

Men of all kinds of religious creeds and no creeds at all seem to be able to meet on one common platform, and a new kind of religion, with a new spirit, has evolved, the Labour Movement of to-day being the salvation of all the rest. To my mind, that gives tremendous promise in these days and for the future for our Labour Movement. I want to suggest to Bishop Gore what at least I regard as being almost a historical truth, that as changes in society come to pass, mainly through economic causes, the institutions that are engaged in the inculcation or teaching of morality and religion necessarily also undergo change. And I think it is very possible that the influence exercised by the Churches of the past is gradually passing over into the sphere of this new factor that is

The Church of the Future? coming into our society—the Labour Movement. I think the Bishop may find that more and more—at least I hope so—the aspirations that he has laid before us this morning are coming to have reality in the minds of the common people in the Labour Movement in this country. I say the common people, the wage labourers, because I have not so much faith in the leaders as they are represented

in the discussion yesterday morning. All I can say, without being ungenerous, is that it rather bored me that the leaders in the Labour Movement have somewhat a tendency to talk down to their followers. It has become the fashion among them now rather to speak of the materialism of the people who want sufficient coal in winter to keep them warm, or who, because their wages are very low, resent the increase in the price of bread. The

materialism of the workers is a request for the common things requisite to keep body and soul together, and it is not an illegitimate materialism. I would suggest that the leaders of the Labour Movement generally draw higher salaries than those whom they lead.

One word more. One thing that I find is this, that in England to-day there is a great talk about uniting all classes and the way the barriers have broken down. I see little evidence of it. I think the war of classes is stronger in this country than ever before. I think there are in operation in this country to-day many magnificent moral and religious tendencies in the Labour Movement, and some outside of it, but at the moment I think these tendencies are subservient, or in fear, or have less power,

than those that are dominant or operating to a far greater degree than that power. The whole force of government in this country is ranged on the side of profit. In the main, the power and authority of the Churches are on the side of profit. As for our Press—that, of course, is not a matter for discussion. All men know on which side that is. We have had here in this hall a speech from Mr. Barnes, a very excellent speech in some ways, but in a way it was a lecture to the working classes. The Press gave prominence to Mr. Barnes' speech. For what reason? Solely because he was preaching a specific to the workers of this country. Those who are ruling this land have ventured to say that England must not be in the future as it has been in the past; but

have they any very sincere desire to make those great radical, far-reaching changes in our social system which most of us in this hall desire, and believe are necessary for the brotherhood of man and that the Fatherhood of God may be realised?

**Not always
Peace
but a Sword.**

We must not for ever forget this one great outstanding fact in the history of mankind, that the great ideals, the magnificent aspirations, of men in the days gone by have not always been accompanied in their realisation by purely peaceful periods. It seems to me that in the early days of Christianity there was much violence and some disorder. And, despite what my friend over there said about the French Revolution, when the idea of liberalism and of liberty—certainly a conception that has some limitations, some faults—but when the idea of human equality, of liberty, of freedom, came into men's minds, there was once again some disorder. Not that I love disorder: I want to see the change come peacefully, but I have my doubts as to whether it will. I only hope, and feel sure, that, whether peacefully or otherwise, it will come.

F. A. JARMAN

(Somerset Organiser of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union).

One of the speakers just now referred to the fact of the unity when people were assembled and the Name of Jesus was mentioned. As one who takes his stand upon the teachings of Jesus, I remember taking a service in the country, and I preached from two different points of view concerning the teachings of Jesus. In the afternoon I took not the material side, shall I say?

Practical not the practical side of the teaching of
Christianity Not Jesus. I dwelt more on the spiritual.
Always Popular. And everybody enjoyed the service, and the farmers with whom I had tea were very highly delighted. But at night, when I put the practical touch, one farmer told me I had spoilt my afternoon service! He did not mind as long as I told those good people that it would be all right in the next world, and that sort of thing. But when I began to say that it was

just as important to pay a living wage as it was to go to a prayer-meeting, they did not agree. And when that kind of thing is preached, you will find people won't be quite so united about singing hymns. People don't mind singing about Jesus, and they don't mind hearing all those nice things about going to heaven, but when you begin to tell them that they have got to translate these things and put them into everyday life, then you will find that they will be up against you. I should like to say that at one time I was a member of the Church of England, and I had these Socialistic ideas, when I was in the Church, but somehow or other I could not find there in the Church that there was any serious attempt to put into practice or expression those things which I believed

More Religious in my heart. And so I went out into
than the Church. the Labour Movement, still believing in

my Jesus, as I do to-day; and I am bound to say that I have found more real religion and desire to establish the Brotherhood of Man in the Labour Movement than I ever found in the Church. And I am proud to say that I do not think that the danger is so much of the Labour Movement drifting into materialism. I can see the Capitalistic Press taking this, as it has already been hinted, as a lecture to the working-class. I know that the Conference do not intend that at all. I am not concerned about what the Press say, because when the Press praises me or any other man, I know that man is on the wrong track. When the Press condemns George Lansbury or our friend Bishop Gore or others, I know they are on the right track. And I am happy this morning to find so many of us here who are convinced that if the Labour Movement is going to succeed, if we

Dives Lecturing are going to establish that common-
Lazarus! wealth for which some of us are always

working, there must be permeating it the Life and Spirit of the Master. I am sick sometimes of those people who stand upon a pedestal and lecture the working-classes because when they are getting £3 or £4 a week they want an extra 10/- to take a few more of life's necessary things into the home—especially am I sick when the man who lectures, whether it be from the plat-

form or from the pulpit, may be drawing £20 or £30 a week. Let us have a little consistency at any rate! I hope that the future of the Labour Movement will more and more be permeated by the kind of people that are here this morning. There is one thing that Bishop Gore said which cheered me immensely, and that was that he intended to cheer the Movement on, and if we make up our

A Great Day on, and help all we can, I believe that
in Store. there is a great day in store for this

grand old planet. I know there are some people who say they are afraid that the Labour Movement is going too far, and that there is going to be a revolution. They are afraid lest the workers are going to take the reins of power in affairs. It is not consistent. We do not want bloodshed. I do not believe in force either way. And I believe that in the Movement there is a right spirit that is going to re-construct and re-mould and re-build this old country and re-build the world. It is for us to do our bit and help it on.

ANOTHER LADY.

I cannot refrain from stating how thoroughly I agree with the last speaker, more especially in what he said about the use of force. The last five years have shown us how completely the organised Churches have been a failure. It is the spirit of the Labour Movement rather than that of the Churches which keeps us going.

F. HERBERT STEAD.

I may perhaps be permitted, as a very sympathetic observer of the Labour Movement, to suggest certain characteristics of the Labour Movement that seem to me to be essentially according to our standards of religion itself. You, sir, have referred to the great fact of sacrifice which has hallowed the beginnings of the Labour Movement in every land. The fact of frank, congenial brotherhood

Certain among the members of the Labour
Religious Movement, such as I fail to find in any
Characteristics. other class in the community, that spirit
 of common comradeship and fellowship,
 is rooted in religion. Loyalty to organi-

sation, which, alas ! has in the annals of religion showed itself only too painfully in persecution, has also shown itself in the Labour Movement, and that fine religious intolerance of disloyalty to corporate unity and to corporate aims is present in the Labour Movement as it has been in the Church. The Labour Movement also has been from the first against Mammon and Mammonism. And the Founder of our Christian faith has told us that the alternatives before the human race are God or Mammon. The Labour Movement, in arraying itself against Mammon, has been the advocate of God. The law of service is essentially built into the Christian faith, and that duty of service is by the Labour Movement translated into the right to work. It is a religious demand. The Labour Movement, more than any other class in the community, has been international. We have had the Black International, of which Bismarck spoke. When the Labour Movement came to its preliminary consciousness, it was an International project, and that is bound up with the religious ideal of the Kingdom of God. It has

Faith in the Transcendent. been said, where does the note of Divinity appear, and faith in God appear? It appears in the faith in the future, an unconquerable and indestructible belief that the forces of social evolution, the transcendental principles of morality, the purpose of the universe, call it by what name or cluster of names you please, are on their side : I see in that a profoundly religious conviction and faith. As I ventured to suggest yesterday, idealism has been the note of the working-classes. Amidst all their temptations, in the difficulties of poverty, to mere sordid materialism, idealism has led them in the darkest times to stand for international unity, for human brotherhood, for the abolition of poverty, and for the abolition of

The Prophets of Labour. war. These are notes of religion, deeply based in the indestructible faith of the human heart. I will venture to say, as the Bishop has said, that Mazzini was a prophet of God, and he was one of the founders of the International. Karl Marx, as his grandson was glad to hear me say, was an old Hebrew prophet disguised in the garments of a modern

materialist, and it is the prophetic note borrowed from his Hebrew past that has made his power what it is amongst the working-classes to-day. I venture therefore to suggest that already in the Labour Movement, not in this land alone but on the Continent also, there are those principles which, when you group them together, when you see their

The Proletarian Religion. inter-organic relation, form if not an explicit, yet a very real religion, and a religion which I can only identify with the first proletarian religion of the Man

of Nazareth. I would venture to suggest to our friend from Belgium that if he does not object to our calling his transcendental principles of morality by a shorter name, if we historically trace these transcendental principles of morality until we find them displayed, not in the abstractions of philosophy, but in actual human history, we shall find them embodied in a Personality who becomes to us the exponent of the unseen and eternal drift of this universe. So I hope this morning we may feel that we are not divided into an Indian camp or an agnostic camp, but that we all of us believe that the Labour Movement must make explicit its religious belief in those transcendental mandates by which alone human history can arrive at anything, and which we believe, most of us, have been expressed in the Gospel of the Kingdom of God and embodied in Jesus Christ our Lord.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1919

Labour as Interpreter of Religion,

BY

ALDERMAN BANTON.

Our meetings are of great importance. It is very remarkable, if you look at your morning papers and see the amount of room that is devoted to the doings of Labour. This morning you notice that all the papers are calling attention to the meetings of various

Labour Every- organisations of Labour. Labour seems **wherein Evidence.** to be getting upon the nerves of people.

They hardly know in which direction Labour is going to break out next. The miners have had their federation meetings. The world was watching with expectancy to see what the result of their deliberations would be. We realise the importance of the step the Miners' Federation took. Then there is the other great federation of the Triple Alliance, which makes men of thoughtful mind wonder what will come out of it all. The movement is not confined to localities or to nations. It is a world-wide movement. And the more quickly we realise that, and the forces that are behind it, the better it will be for the world itself. The Trade Union Congress next week will have most important discussions, and whatever they decide to do will be of great moment to the nation. They will not do as we have

**Prayer in the
Trade Union
Congress.**

done, open their meetings with prayer. But I can say this, from knowledge of many of the men who will assemble there, that they will implore the Almighty to guide them in the right spirit; and we have confidence that there are leaders and great men amongst those delegates inspired with this desire, to know the Will of the Father—inspired with a deep religious motive that whatever they do should be done to bring order out of this chaos. Whilst they think thus, good must come from their deliberations.

In the meantime, there is the other weightier subject that we must discuss. Whilst having the knowledge that these men and women are there in that spirit, yet there needs to be a more outward expression of the faith that is in them. I have been a member of the Labour Party since its formation, and I have realised from the beginning the jealousy and the fear in the Labour Movement as a whole, against the encroachment of the ancient forms of ecclesiasticism. They have looked upon the Churches as being organised against them rather than for them. I even think we might say they have believed that the Churches were entirely against them. The new spirit that is abroad has not been derived mainly from the Church, but from the hardships and the sufferings of the men and women engaged in industrial life. So we are here to debate this subject of how far religion should mould the thoughts and the aspirations of the peoples.

We cannot stand still. There must be progress or retrogression, the law of life or the law of death. So whatever is being done, so long as there is something being done, we can welcome it. Wherever there is discussion we ought to welcome it, and try to get the best possible out of it. At all these meetings of Labour organisations, for instance, there may be wild words and there may be threats uttered, but at the bottom of it all, with all their faults, we are justified in saying that if there is a fault at all it leans to the side of virtue.

We have discussed in our previous session the dangers to the workers from materialism. One speaker may have said that there is a growing spirit of materialism among the workers. It may be so. It would be a marvel if it was not so, considering the conditions under which they have lived and laboured. They have realised the wonderful productive power that is put into their possession, and they have seen the product of their labour wastefully distributed. They themselves have suffered through not having a sufficiency of those things which they have themselves produced; hence the feeling of discontent and a rebellious spirit. The point is whether that rebel-

The Menace of Materialism.

lions spirit is a righteous one, whether it is for good or ill. It all depends how that spirit is moulded and directed. So we desire to emphasise that there should be a spirit of religion to guide the Labour Movement.

The next point comes, as to what this religion is, and whether the spirit of religion really is in the Labour Movement. I speak from experience of direct

Is Religion in contact with men with whom I have
the Movement? mixed from boyhood up. These men are, in the main, men of the best impulses, who have been brought up in their Church and Sunday School, who have mixed amongst men, studied history and tried to realise the best of their ambitions. So we have in the Labour Party and in the Labour Movement and Socialist Movement men of the best type. They may lack education, may not have the polish of the man who has been through college. Still, the motive, the thing they are striving for, and the method of giving expression to those aspirations, those are the things we weigh and consider.

No one will dare to say that those movements, initiated out of the sufferings of the workers, have not been for the good of all. The Trade Unionist

Sacrifice speakers from this platform have men-
Up to Date. tioned the sufferings and sacrifices of men and women for better conditions.

These are men and women whom the historian will recall with pride, the same kind of pride as we entertain towards those in time past who gave us the liberties we possess to-day. We may disagree, we may not be able to judge truly, because of the closeness of contact. The other night I was listening to some men in the streets discussing the police strike. One man was admiring the spirit and the determination of those men, knowing what they are called upon to sacrifice. Men who have had 22, 24 and 28 years' service are having their pensions taken from them. And that was done in our name! We cannot help feeling sympathy with these men. We may not agree with all they may do, but still the motive behind it, and the heroic sacrifice of these men we cannot but admire. They did not do it for a selfish motive, but for the sake of an organisa-

tion. That is the spirit to which we must look for the success of the efforts of men in the great co-operative movement.

Look at the pioneers of Rochdale, and the ideal they entertained! The main men of the Christian Church have never entertained higher aspirations and worthier motives, never were prepared to sacrifice more than these men. They gave their best, and the outcome of it all is a growth as of the mustard seed. The root grows and grows until the spirit that animated these men will gather the whole world into a co-operative commonwealth. Visionaries, idealists, utopians, they had to bear all these scathing names. These men took upon themselves a great responsibility, and we have seen the outcome of their efforts, blessed by the Almighty because the spirit was good.

It is the same with the great Friendly Societies as in the Trade Unions. The workers have accomplished much in spite of the opposition that has been placed in their way. In time of famine and scarcity men were dependent upon the charity of the minister of the parish or the squire, and the doles of charity came along, until the word charity assumed that deformation for which it is abhorred and repudiated in the way Bishop Gore described yesterday. The pity of it, that so lovely a word should be so misunderstood and its spirit so misrepresented. So they determined to help themselves, formed sick clubs, and the work grew until to-day they have got a mighty manifestation of this mutual helpfulness taking the place of the old dependence upon so-called charity.

By the federation of labour, the great power, industrial and political, of the workers is assuming alarming proportions. At least so it appears to those who are timorous and fearful, to those who have clung to some of the old doctrines, the doctrines laid down and unfortunately still too much welcomed by the Church. I cannot help remembering the report issued by Dr. Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, in 1908. A committee had been appointed to inquire into economic subjects, and the moral witness of the Church on these subjects. Bishop Gore presented the re-

port, and there were some drastic things said in that report. That is eleven or twelve years gone by. We hoped, when we got that report, that the Church was awakening to her responsibilities, and would use the great power it could use. They reported upon the old economic position. The Christian Church had a great new opportunity. The old political economy dealt with the production and distribution of wealth as if no motive were to be admitted into this economic region excepting the selfish desire of the individual to grow rich. Abstract laws of supply and demand were supposed to rule out the scientific treatment of commerce and industry, to rule out also all questions of justice and mercy to the wage-earners, and of moral consideration of the relations between employers and employed. The Christian Church allowed itself to be silenced by the terrors of supposed inexorable laws.

We have had since then a new conception of what political economy is. We have had Ruskin, and other writers upon economic subjects, who have given us a new and better interpretation. Above all, we have gone back to Christ Himself for the relation between those who have and those who have not, those who direct and those who are directed. We have waited for the Church to take the lead, and the Church has not responded with the thing we have looked for.

To-day we are here, the outcome not of a sudden growth, not of a spontaneous rebellious spirit against the things that have been, but the silent development of a force that has been in the hearts of men for the last century, a feeling that the Church itself, as it is now organised, is not the true representative of Christ on earth. So we have to re-interpret and put into modern language and phraseology our conception of the Divine truths which He expounded. Our friend Lansbury gave us a definition, very short, terse, but to the point, of the religion that we wish to have established and realised and recognised by Labour—the Fatherhood of God and the

Brotherhood of Man. Delightful expressions, and containing so much truth! So our task is to formulate the fundamentals of religious faith in terms understandable and acceptable to the great masses of the people, in such a way as to be in harmony with the ideals and teachings of the inspired writers of all times and all climes. One could

not but be impressed and delighted with the exposition of the Indian Movement given by our representative from Madras yesterday morning, as he spoke of the deep religious spirit of the old civilisation that was in existence when we were barbarians, and

enunciated the great truth that in religion from generation to generation is the oneness and the fundamental fact of life. We were delighted to know these things. We want to find something that will be not a dogma laid down by Labour leaders, but the expression of a deep universal religious faith that can be embodied in the laws and the social conditions under which we live. We want to realise the meaning of such words as the solidarity, the oneness of the working classes, and to make an effort to establish an organisation which may be world-wide, with an evangel

to convey to all parts of the earth—to
A World-wide Japan, with its newly-awakened industrial era; to China, teeming with its
Evangel. population and its inexhaustible wealth

waiting to be developed. All these parts of the earth are being drawn into close relationship with us. The throbbing impulse of these motives are permeating their lives as well as here, but with different conceptions of the relation to the Almighty. We cannot go and say, "You must accept this, the Christian definition." But the understanding that there is one Father, the Father of all harmonious relationships, that is essential, and we must work with the Will of the Father. We seek to find the difference between natural law and spiritual law or the laws of nature, when all we want to do is to realise that all the knowledge pertaining to life is but a discovery of the Divine Will. Then we understand all things. Then we can work in harmony with that task which the Almighty invites men to fulfil—namely, to work for the formation

of the Kingdom of God here on earth, the realising of the highest of our ideals. What we can see in the life hereafter let us realise here on earth. Rough and ready may be the methods we are using, but that is still the underlying purpose of it all. So we mean to preach the Divine

We Can Convey Fatherhood and realise that by our taking the message to the workers the
the Message. jealousy and fear, the old distrust of the Churches will vanish. We can convey

the message and belief in such language that we shall again inspire the workers with the highest of all ideals—the great law of fraternity, the great conception of equality, the great life of liberty, the great freedom, which can only be found in the bonds of Christ Himself, in seeking and holding the truth which alone makes us free. These are our aspirations. How can we lay down our ideals, express ourselves, organise among the workers the different methods of giving them expression, speak to the cultured and uncultured, rough and uncouth, to men of the same capacities but differing in degree? This is our message: to take to them the great truth that they are the sons of the Great Father and they are our brothers. We believe that a great effort is being made. It will be such a thing that in years to come we shall be proud that we have taken part in its initiation. Pray and work for the success of this new effort to bring to the Labour Movement that conception of the Creator which brings order out of chaos, life out of death.

The Need of Religious Power,

BY

CHRISTIAN NORLEV

(Secretary to the Christian Social Union of Denmark).

We, in my country, were very delighted when we received the invitation to this Conference. Christianity and

the Labour Movement are, each of them,

The Two one of the greatest powers in the world,

Great Powers. and nothing can be of greater significance than if these two great powers

can be brought to act together in alliance. They then will be able to change the world—to renew the world.

The work of promoting good relations between Christianity and the Labour Movement, therefore, is a work of the greatest significance. Thoughts and inspirations from the work here have reached also my country.

On the question down for to-day, "Can the Religion in the Labour Movement be made Subject of World-wide Propaganda?" let me first point out that I cannot speak as a representative of the Danish Labour Party. I, myself, have for many years been a worker, and I have many friends among the members of the Labour Movement, but the Christian Social Union, of which I am secretary, is not a special labour association. We members are men and women of all classes and all professions. And our aim is to work for the realisation of the Kingdom of God in all human relations. We endeavour to teach people to know what the Kingdom of God really means, and what its realisations in our social life really mean. We, of course, speak to the workers about this matter—we speak to all men of all classes about it—but we aim especially at speaking to the churchpeople because they are the people who know the least and who ought to know the most about this subject.

I believe that if the Kingdom of God is to be established in our social life, it essentially

What is Religion? must be the Labour Movement which shall carry it on. But I am convinced that if the Labour Movement is to be

able to carry it on, it must possess religious power.

What do we mean by religious power? Real religion, to my mind, consists of two things: first, of an idea; and second, of a belief wherewith we subject ourselves to this idea. For instance, the Christian idea is the idea of the Kingdom of God, and theologians and other people may have very great knowledge about this idea, but yet be quite irreligious. They only become religious men when they believe in the idea, and believe in it in such a manner that they must serve the idea.

It is the same with the Labour Movement. I quite agree with what was said on the other days about the religious idea in the Labour Movement.

Two Factors. The Labour Movement has an idea, and concerning our social life this idea is

quite adequate to the idea of Christianity. But the idea alone makes no religion. The question is how much the idea affects the workers? Do they really believe in it? Do they subject themselves to it? Do they endeavour to put it into realisation in all their life relations?

Last winter I arranged some meetings for the unemployed. Among other subjects we also discussed social problems. And at these meetings I got acquainted with a young man, who in magnificent speeches spoke against the exploitation of labour, and enthusiastically preached the socialistic idea of a new

Socialist outside—Tyrant at Home.

social order, where all exploitations and oppressions should be excluded and justice and brotherhood established. I happened to learn a little about this man's home-life. He had a very good and clever wife—a nice woman—but she also was a self-dependent woman. She insisted that they should not use more money every day than they actually possessed. But the man sometimes found this self-dependence an inconvenience; he evidently took it as a lack of education. And then he tried to educate the wife out of it by striking her! That is a method some men use for educating their wives, but it is neither a Christian nor a socialistic method—it is a tyrannical method.

Now, the idea of the Labour Movement is a religious idea. This man knew the idea, he agreed with the idea. But will any one of you call him a religious man? I do not call him a religious man. He lacked the religious power, did not believe in the realising of the religion.

You understand what I mean by the religious power. It is the power of faith wherewith we are subject to the idea, and in all relations become servants and make sacrifices for the idea.

Further, religious power is a power of the idea itself. There are people who think that the power which rules the world is the power of guns and swords. They are quite wrong. The power which rules the world is the power which rules the conscience of man.

Nothing appeals to man's conscience like an idea pursued by men and women who believe in it with their whole

heart, and who are ready to sacrifice in service of the idea. The danger from materialism is the danger of losing this power.

The power which such men and women possess, which appeals to the best in the soul of men—that is religious power.

The problem we stand for to-day is not only to state that the Labour Movement has a religious idea, but it is how to make this idea a living force, a real religion in men's lives. How to get the workers to base their movement, their struggle, their claims and personal life on a really religious base. How to get the workers to believe in religious power and to use this power.

How to Get this Power?

I think it is a very good time to take up this problem now. It appears to me that the Labour Movement, as I know it, is in danger of losing its former religious belief. In my country the Labour Movement has been entirely a social democratic movement. Many people consider Social Democrats as materialists, because they base their theories in the materialistic view of history. I, myself do not think that the materialistic view of history absolutely drives one to materialism, and I am sure that even if Socialists have been quite materialistic they have yet had religious faith and religious power. The Marxistic

Belief in

Evolution—

Socialists have believed in evolution, in development. Reading socialistic literature and newspapers, I very often have noticed such an item as the following: "We surely will attain success because we are in alliance with Evolution." That is a belief of the same kind as if churchmen said: "We know we will obtain success in our work for promoting the Kingdom of God because God Himself works with us and for us." The Socialistic belief in Evolution is a belief in a power outside of men. It is, in my opinion, a very imperfect belief, but we may surely call it a religious belief.

It appears to me that the Socialists I know now are on the point of losing their belief in Evolution, and I think that this is a very natural thing, for it has been a belief

—Fading.

only in mechanical forces; and with that no man's heart can, in the long run, be satisfied.

Therefore, as the first task in propaganda, we must endeavour to make clear to the workers an adequate religious and moral base for their movement, for their claims and their hope.

Propaganda Needed. We must show that this base has much more moral effect than any materialistic or mechanical base.

I think that we here can co-operate, we in the Christian Social Union, ministers and other Christians, together with Labour leaders and workers who have recognised the task.

Task for Labour Leaders. But I think that Labour leaders and workers have a special task. Workers naturally will prefer to listen to the good tidings if it is proclaimed by their leaders and fellow-workers.

I do not flatter you, but I think that England has been called to lead the world now and in the future. And I know that your Labour leaders have recognised and understood the problem of the relation between the Labour Movement and religion much better and more fully than Labour leaders in most other countries of Europe. And therefore I appeal to you to organise crusades to my country and other countries. I should think it will be of effect, not only for the workers, but also for the churchpeople. Our churchpeople stand in need of an inspiring word from Christian Labour leaders.

England Called to Lead—

—in Crusades to other People.

This is a fateful time for mankind. It is a time full of terrible possibilities. Sometimes it looks as if history and civilisation would fall in ruins. It is a time parallel to the fall of the Roman Empire. There was need of developing a new social order, an order of justice. The Roman order was very imperfect, but still a social order, under which civilisation grew up and was protected. The order was broken, because it was held up only by

physical force. Then came the dark Middle Ages, when justice depended upon the sword. Now I fear our social order is breaking down. Civilisation may perish, because our social order has been based on material forces, the power of arms. If Labour will go on along the old line and base man's position upon organisation, not on justice, ruin is before us. The great problem is how to get our social order based on justice and brotherhood. The world can only be saved by religious power. The fate of mankind in this time, as in all times, is to be decided by man's attitude to religion.

The New Day at Dawn,

BY

RICHARD WESTROPE.

I was very sorry to miss Dr. Gore yesterday, because I consider he is one of the greatest religious leaders of our time, and can speak to the people. I am going to use chemically a little precipitate of Dr. Gore's that was prepared for the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, because I think, thrown into this audience, it will have one valuable effect, it will just indicate where we stand. This is what Dr. Gore wrote in those preliminary papers previous to the Pan-Anglican Congress. I am reading it because if it were accepted by the Christian Church generally a revolution would take place, necessarily: "We must identify ourselves with the great impeachment of our present industrial system. We must refuse to acquiesce in it. But even more than this, we must identify ourselves, because we are Christians, with the positive ethical ideal of Socialistic thought." I want those words to be scattered broadcast, because it is just because the Christian Church apparently cannot take that position that the workers of the world, many of them trained in the Church, many of them in their early days its devoted sons and daughters, have turned away sorrowfully from the

Church. What are the facts? 1906 in England was the new birth hour of modern democracy.

Church Decline since 1906. And in that year—note the date, 1906—began that serious decline in church membership that has continued, and is continuing up to the present time. So serious it is that one of the oldest Churches, one of the best equipped, whose record has been splendid in the past, has since 1906 lost something like forty thousand of its membership. There must be back of that some real, vital cause to account for it.

The hour in which we meet is a critical hour. The opportunity that faces those of us here who believe in this larger and yet essential Christian evangel, is an opportunity perhaps that will never occur again. Karl Marx is reported to have said—I owe this to a friend of mine who knows his writings better than I do—"I believe England will get through her social revolution without bloodshed and without injustice." Every one of us here profoundly prays that that prophecy may be fulfilled.

What is, then, the situation that faces the modern world. I have lived through a generation from 1889 to 1919. In 1889 was the London dock

1889-1919— strike, and in these thirty years I have
the Change. witnessed the greatest change that human history can record. A new consciousness has been born in the workers of the world. To what shall we attribute it? Put your own interpretation upon it. Some will say Democracy, some will say Christianity, some this, some that. But here is the fact. In those thirty years, first in the Western world and then in the Eastern world, a new consciousness that in these last years has become articulate and insistent—that is the astounding thing that faces us to-day.

You know what the new consciousness shows. It means this, we are here, men and women standing on God's earth, breathing God's air, looking up into His heaven. We ask, we demand, the full rights and privileges and duties of our common manhood. Now I say that is the thing that meets us here to-day.

And let me say something else. In 1911, in the north

of England we passed through two critical times—coal strike, railway strike. And for me at

**What Two
Strikes
Revealed.** any rate I confess to you they were times of growth and development. I came to know some men, one man intimately, but others fairly well. I attended their

meetings, I listened to their speeches, and I came to this conclusion, that the leaders, most of them, were deeply religious men, as religious as I was, though they expressed it in other forms and in other ways. That is where we stand. We do not say, because a man is outside church or chapel, that he is an irreligious man. Sometimes his religion has made it impossible for him to remain in the Church. Similarly some men would be more Christian in their denials than others have been in their affirmations.

May I, because it will illustrate my point and the point we are specially concerned with this morning, the point of propaganda, just indicate from my

Labour Mystics. own knowledge the things that these men stand for, the things where we can

link on and help them. The first is, they recognise, not always consciously, that a real religion is an essential part of their manhood. If I may put it like this, they are mystics. They cannot express it in the four walls of any creed, but they believe, as our friend, I think, emphasised yesterday, in the solidarity of the human race. They believe it is something worth living for, fighting for, and indeed dying for. They feel that they belong to a bigger world than they can see and apprehend, and for this larger life for everybody they are prepared to suffer even unto death. Go to the collieries, and there you will see what has happened, tragically. Is it any difficulty to get a volunteer to go down once, or twice, or even three times? It is the commonplace. The collier, like the fisher boy a few years ago, dies for his fellows, and thinks nothing about it. I say if that is not a religious faith and impulse, then I do not know what is. And I say in this movement there are those who find in it their church, their divine service, their opportunity of visiting the sick, their opportunity of building up a common life in which all men

should share. I want to say here definitely and distinctly, it proves one thing, that religion is not a disease, it is not a superstition—it is something immanent in the nature of man, and a man knows it. He feels in his best moments—when he holds his little firstborn to his breast, when the crisis is past and he says in words, or a prayer too deep for words, “Thank God she is spared!” I say, brothers, you cannot live with these men, and love

Living for the them, without finding that there essen-
Larger Whole. tially they have in the roots of them a real religious faith, something that inspires. One member of our tutorial class said to me in conversation, “You know, that idea that our tutor expressed, that we must live for the larger whole—I want to tell you that that has so entered into my life that it has changed everything. It has made it jolly uncomfortable at times.” I have seen forty men, none of whom enter either a church or chapel, sit, not one night nor two nights, discussing religion in relation to economics, at the close of a lecture that my colleague said was nothing more than a very fine sermon—only it was not expressed in the language of Zion, and it was put in such a way that the men could understand and could appreciate it.

I want to say that in this, at any rate, we have a tremendous advantage. The old materialism is dead. Nobody bothers now about Haeckel’s

Materialism

Dead!

“Riddle of the Universe.” You can get it for a few coppers on a barrow in the street. And nobody bothers very much about the old Rationalism. It is as dead as the dodo. And sure enough here comes along a lady who says, quoting the words of her reviewer, Mr. Clutton Brock, “Miss Jane Harrison has been busy, as she thought, dissecting the body of Religion, and Religion was standing by all the time laughing in her face.” Miss Jane Harrison began then to study religion psychologically, and she says it is not enough to have great ideals. The younger generation wants the warm glow of an immanent God, the personal faith, a living Life. We must have it. You working people here won’t mind a very simple illustration, which

will fix it. There it is on the walls wherever you look: a child in the bath, "He won't be happy till he gets it!"

I belong to the Labour Party. I belong to the strictest sect of the Pharisees and make broad my phylacteries. And

The First Aim I say this, that if we could get all our hopes and ideals realised, we should still
in Propaganda. have a hungry soul unless the Lover finds

His beloved, unless he had met the Great Companion, unless as he tramped these dreary streets he knew that God lived and God loved, and thus he could bear anything, as you and I, some of us, know when we have been through the mill. That is the first thing that we have got to propagate. And we are going to do it.

I met a young Dane a few weeks ago at Scalby, and he had come over to found an International College for working men and women in Copenhagen. He was just by himself, but he went here and there, saw this man and the other man, and he went back confident. We shall have another here, if God spare our friend and turn back the sundial fifteen or twenty years. Why not have another in London, and others elsewhere, where you can have free classes, where men and women who have this faith can be trained to go out and give their message?

But there is something else. I have found this amongst working men, that they had a real respect for Jesus Christ. They have not turned

**Back to the
Carpenter's
Shop.**

away from Jesus. They are saying, "Sir, we would see Jesus." We want to say to them: We believe He has got the key of hope for this modern world

of ours. And if we are against materialism, or if we are against capitalism, if we are out for the new order, if we are out for real democracy, we find it in Jesus. Are we agreed on that? It is not dogma, it is not ecclesiasticism. I want to go back to the Carpenter's shop. I want to see again that fine spring morning when He laid down His tools on the bench and kissed Mother Mary and said, "I'm away! I'm away!" That was how it all started, in a workman's shop, and they were all workmen together. And, please God, that is how it is going to be revived,

little associations of men and women who have seen the vision and who believe deep down in their hearts. Some

of us do believe that He is not simply a

He Lives, figure in the past, but still He lives, He
Leads, Conquers. leads, He conquers. Why do I believe
in a good God? Not because I am a

philosopher. I am not. I believe in a good God because there was a Man like me Who held His hand in the black darkness—and came through. I don't know what happened. That doesn't worry me. But He got through. And I believe to-day that love and brotherhood and righteousness reign and will reign because Jesus believed it. You remember Jesus once with that splendid centurion, who saw at once what kind of Man He was. "Here is

a Man Who has got power, and I have

"No, not in got power. We ought to understand
Israel!" one another." And so he said, "You

have got your servants, I have got

mine." Now of the man outside, Jesus would say in many cases, pointing to the Church member, ay, pointing to the minister sometimes, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in the pulpit, no, not in the church, no, not in the diaconate."

What, do you mean to say there will be a new world where there is no poverty, no war, no disease; where men will cease fighting one another, and live

A New World! like brothers; where they will be as happy as birds and as beautiful as flowers? Do

you believe that? Ay. You believe that human nature can be changed, don't you? Surely. What I want you to see is the social vindication of all this. If one man can get love enthroned in his heart, if one man can live and work for his fellows, if one man can get mammon and lust and materialism under his feet, why, we cannot despair. Look at what Jesus did. Look at His courage. He stepped out into a world that was quivering with Messianic hope, and He said: I have come to realise your hope and to make all things new. That last night on which, when He was eating His last supper with His friends, He took the cup and He said, "Never despair! Here's to

the Kingdom! I will not drink this again till I drink it new in the Kingdom of God."

My brothers, look what an opportunity we have to-day. Here is a Social Democracy that believes abundantly in a new world. Here are some of us who

Go to the Social have got our faith and hope per-
Democracy. haps more directly from Jesus Christ.

What is our business but to go right to them and say, Brothers, you are right. That is the dream. But we have got the power and the spirit of a Life that shall make that dream come true.

Let me give you an illustration. Here is a middle-class family, well-to-do people, three sons and two daughters, all hoping to have a secondary school education. As a friend said to me, a manufacturer in Halifax, when he came to the Settlement, "I consider that

**Higher
Education
for Whom?**

no working class family ought to have less than £200 a year, and," he said, "I get at it in this way: it costs me just about that sum to educate and clothe and so on every year one of my young people." Supposing into a family like that, with three fine boys all going to a secondary school and some of them going to a university, the father comes one morning and says, "One of you boys can continue his education, the others must go to the mill to-morrow morning at six o'clock." Consternation!

But how many get a secondary education now? I asked at our Educational Conference at York the other evening. Oh, a mere handful! I could

The Hope of not have thought it was so few. Never
Democracy. mind, my brothers. Why I digress for

a moment is to show this burning hope of a democracy. Are you in sympathy with it, or are you not? I am in sympathy with it, down to the bottom of my boots. I began early, as a little tiny boy toddling by the side of an old minister in a village in Hertfordshire, passing rich on £100 a year, and as I walked beside him he said, "Richard, I have seen the people in this village so hungry that they have been almost ready to eat the dirt off the roads." He trained me. And since then I have

known them heart to heart. Those six years in Leeds! I had a little band who used to see me home every Sunday night to my gate. I am sure I had some that would have died for me. And when my respectable middle-class friends said to me, as they often did, "Mr. Westrope, why are you so keen on these working people? They can't do anything for you?" What have they done for me? Good heavens! Why, they have given me all that they had to give, their love and affection.

Look here, there was a time, my friends, when the word that was greatly used was Substitution, somebody dying for somebody else. That has

The Good Time gone. There is only one way of saving
Coming. —Identification. And there are two great

features in the twentieth century that will overshadow all else. One is that for the first time in history we are going to build on earth, by His strength and power, the City of God; and the other is that this twentieth century will witness a return to God and the emergence of the spiritual and divine and eternal such as this old world has never seen the like of. *Sursum corda.* Lift up your hearts.

How are you going to make it international? We will train our men and women; we will publish literature that will make Jesus live, and Mazzini and Lammennais live, and the old Hebrew prophets live, and the poets live; we will teach them what Jesus meant by Browning's "Saul." We will have songs for the new day and the new dawn. I asked a young Eton boy the other day what about Eton? He said, "There is a new spirit at Eton." I said, "Well, what is your favourite hymn at Eton?" "Our favourite hymn in chapel is, 'When wilt Thou save the people?'" That is Eton. That boy has written in his last term at Eton "The Loom of Youth." He is going to Oxford in October to take his place there, and his first piece of work is to form a Settlement in the slums of Oxford. *Sursum corda.* Don't let us say that any man is not our brother. We want to take over all life into the Kingdom. The drama? We will give you Tolstoi acted, "Where Love Is, God Is." We will give you plays that will be written to illustrate our meaning. The drama must be captured

for this Labour Movement. The story of Jesus, His appeal, should be dramatised, all the parables, so that a man sees at once their meaning. I have lived long, and I have had many experiences, inside the Church happy, and outside just as happy. And to-day, if it were my last word, I should say my Credo: I believe in God and the People, and in their complete emancipation in and by the Spirit of Jesus and by men and women devoted to Him.

BASIL MATHEWS.

(Editorial Secretary to the London Missionary Society).

I wish to paint in swiftly the human background of the central idea of Brother Richard's address—that a new consciousness had been born in the workers of the world, first in the West and now in the East; and that the one hope for all the workers of the world was to bring the principles of Jesus Christ into the common life of all men everywhere.

I think that the next development is this, that the workers of the West, conscious of their need, and the workers of the East and of Africa, conscious of their need, must get together and interpret their need to one another.

**Let East
Meet West.**

I look forward to a day when this hall will be filled with men at such a Conference as this, but that there will be in front of us faces from China, Japan, India, Africa, the South Seas, and all the races of the world shall come together and confess their common need and their united aspiration.

We have agreed that our religion stands for the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. That means, if you are going to reduce it to one single phrase, the Sacredness of Personality. Personality, for each son of God must be sacred, irrespective of colour or status. But the whole existing social order, as I see it, in the East and West and Africa, is based on the sup-

pression of personality. That means that the social order has got to be revolutionarily changed at the very heart of it. We have to work a revolution in human society.

We may say, Let us begin by working a revolution in the West alone. But we are inextricably bound up in the bundle of life with all men everywhere. The first thing each of us did this morning was to get hold of a bit of soap. Directly you use a bit of soap you are using the labour probably of an indentured South Sea Islander. I say that because the essential thing in most soap is copra, produced from the cocoanut. You have had a cup of tea. You have been using the labour of Indian or Chinese or Cingalese men and women. You put a shirt on your back. You are putting on cotton. Everyone here has, I suppose, got cotton on him in some form or other. Examine the conditions under which the cotton mills, say, of Japan are run. The last figures available in England at present show that women are working in the mills on an indentured labour system, and that of every hundred women who go in, only twenty get back to their homes. The eighty have either died, the larger proportion of them of disease like consumption, or, finding those conditions intolerable, have drifted out into places like the immoral quarters of the Japanese cities.* If we are wearing Japanese cotton, we are wearing something drenched in the blood of womanhood—and because it is Japanese womanhood it does not make any difference. Take cocoa. You may be using there the labour of regions where men die off like flies. You walk more easily because of the rubber on the soles of your boots or come here on a rubber-tyred motor 'bus. Under what conditions was the rubber got? Belgian rubber atrocities have been suppressed, but all the atrocities have not gone from the world. We are bound up inextricably in the daily operations of our life with all the world, and the next step in the world of Labour is to get a world-consciousness of our unity.

*See "The Japan Year Book, 1916."

Marx used to say, "Workers of the world, Unite!"

**Solidarity
in Guilt.**

Marx saw Europe. We see Asia and Africa, and the workers of the world have got to unite, so that there shall be no more slums either in Canning Town or Calcutta. Wipe them out from the whole world.

The only power by which that can be done is the power of the principles and personality of Jesus.

They have got a strange and picturesque way of striking in India. In Bombay there were tens and tens of thousands of men out on strike. The men lay along narrow alleys sideways on their backs, with great placards up, saying, "You cannot go to work except on our empty stomachs." You cannot do anything, anywhere, to-day, except on the empty stomachs of Labour somewhere! We have got to realise that solidarity.

In answer to the question of our subject to-day, Can Labour carry Religion into a world-wide propaganda? I say—Labour must! And if Labour must, then it certainly can. If it has the will, it can discover the way and the power.

Labouring men have gone out into the world to carry this message. There was a small Scottish boy who used to start work at six in the morning, to earn a few shillings a week at the spinning mills. He went out to Africa as a missionary, and spent his life exploring and opening up Africa and fighting the slave trade, and when Livingstone died he destroyed slavery in Africa. Slavery lived on the degradation of human personality. Livingstone lived for its uplift. Livingstone, do not let us forget it, was a Christian working man who went out with the principles of His Master to make them work into the life of Africa. Incidentally it is one of the proudest things of my life that he was sent out by the Society which I have the honour to serve. Carey was the same, a bootmaker. John Williams was an ironmonger's assistant. Moffatt was a working gardener. Chalmers was a stonemason. Mackay was an engineer. Robert Morison was a last-maker. Go right the way through, and you will find there

**What Working
Men Have
Done.**

have been working men going out lifting up the depressed, destroying slavery, and, above all, everywhere giving to the souls of men that sacred knowledge of the rights and the duties of their own personality that has lifted them up and given them the power to free themselves.

If Labour does not carry its religious principles out on a world scale, I will tell you what we shall see. There

**The Dread
Alternative.**

this, but it is a central conviction in my life that we shall see, if Labour does not carry its religious principles to the East

and to Africa, that we have cast the devils of militarism out of Central Europe only to find them hurrying the mad-dened millions of Asia down the Gadarene steeps of inter-racial war into the ocean of barbarism. We have got to lay strong and deep the foundations of a world-city of God. We have got to plant the roots of a World-Commonwealth. "Workers of the world, unite!"—unite to build up a citadel of freedom, whose walls can never be broken down, and ultimately to see a world in which there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, neither African, Indian, Chinese, Japanese nor European, but one man, and one man in Him who is presented to us as the foundation of the world's new life, Jesus Christ.

REV. A. T. HOCKING.

I would express my gratitude to Mr. Mathews for giving us the opportunity of hearing these matters discussed in the open.

I wonder if I may venture to put in a word on behalf of us poor parsons? It seems that you do not quite do us justice. I do not believe you know the fight that some of us have to put up for the sake of these very ideals. We

really are trying to get our people to see them. If our people are somewhat blind and stupid, we cannot help that.

**The Parson's
Wayward Flock.** A good deal has been said about the Sermon on the Mount. I thought of a little experience of mine. I gave a series of addresses to my congregation on that subject, and I had not gone very far before I received a letter from a lady in my congregation to say,

"You are not preaching Christ. You are only preaching morality." She forgot it was Christ's morality I was preaching. A little while after I had another letter in which she informed me she could not stand it any longer and was going off to another church in the neighbourhood which was described as "low." I suppose that is the opinion that a good many of you have got about the Church as a whole, that it is "low." Of course we have to admit that the Church to-day is in low water—perhaps because we have lowered our ideals. It is for that reason that we want, I won't say for the Churches to capture the

Lifters of the Movement, but for the Labour Movement to capture the Churches, in order
World, Unite! that our ideals may be heightened and our energies quickened. If we could only get our forces united, if all that is best in the Churches could be united with all that is best and truest in the Labour Movement, why then we should sweep the world. Can the religion implicit in the Labour Movement be made the subject of world-wide propaganda? Can it? Mr. Mathews has answered the question in two words—it must! It is not an incidental thing: it is one of the categorical imperatives. What are these principles which you say are implicit, and I believe to be implicit? We have been hearing them, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. If these are genuine facts, you simply cannot leave them out of your propaganda. They must go in. Alderman Sheppard struck a yet deeper note.

Three Great He told us that this Movement began in sacrifice. All the best things do.
Words. Christianity did. Unfortunately, that great word and the great idea behind it have become debased, and men have got the idea that sacrifice must be offered to God to propitiate what they call His wrath. But Jesus Christ, by word and example, taught that the only sacrifices which count are the sacrifices which one man makes for another, when he gives himself up for another. And unless we take up our cross we are not worthy of Him. Those who have read Kidd's "Science of Power," will remember a chapter which he entitles "The Emotion of the Ideal," where he proclaims that this is

the strongest force in life, that the highest ideal for man is sacrifice, and if we want to save the world for humanity, and humanity itself, then we must teach the ideal of sacrifice as carefully and as systematically as we teach every other science and economy. And he is right. If these are true universal principles, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and the high ideal of sacrifice, you simply must get them into world-wide propaganda, and you must put them not in the background but in the forefront.

MR. BRITTEN.

I was brought up in Oxford, a choir boy when I was nine years old, so I know something of the Church. It is with the Church I must deal. The Church is divided against itself: and in that I include all religious denominations. In this sense there is no brotherhood to-day. Look at the Church of England clergymen. They preach different doctrines in high and low churches: and there is no common agreement with the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Churches: neither is there any common agreement with the Church of England or the Roman Catholic and the Nonconformist Churches. I saw a case in point the other day, of a clergyman in the Church of England refusing his pulpit to a Nonconformist minister. I, as a man, left the Church of England when I began to see the wide class distinction in the Church. I myself have given up all idea of receiving religious instruction. As Trade Unionists, we hear a lot of the materialistic side of the Trade Union. It does exist in the Labour Movement. The materialistic side is a nightmare to the Trade Unions, from the labour point of view. Put your Churches in order, and let them agree among themselves, before they come into common uniformity with the working classes.

THOMAS CAPE, M.P.

I want to say a few words in regard to the propaganda of religious work in the Labour Movement. I speak as a miner, twelve years a permanent official of the Miners'

Union, so I know something about the miners' work. I have seen the men going down the mine to save their fellows. It is a calamity when these things have got to be done. Nevertheless, it is true that these men do it frequently, and do it knowing the danger they have got to undergo. It is not for material gain, it is because of the spirit that animates them and makes them feel the obligation which lies upon them to save their fellows.

I want to say, as a miner, I am also a member of the Christian Church. I belong to the Primitive Methodist Church, and I am not ashamed of that. I could complain about the Church not doing all I wish it to do. I could complain about ministers not coming up to my ideal of a minister. But my leaving the Church will not make them any better. I feel it is my duty, as a man in the Trade Union Movement, and as a man who believes that the Spirit of Christ is within it, to help to put the Church into proper order and to uphold ministers all I can, to bring them into my

**Why Not
Capture the
Church?**

way of thinking. We are not going to do any good by alienating ourselves from the Church. We have claimed as a Labour Party that we can capture the Government of the country. I believe we can and will. Just as we capture the Government of the country, so we may capture the administrative work of the Church. Bishop Gore did not seem to believe so yesterday. I cannot help Bishop Gore's beliefs. I am speaking about mine. I believe we can. And I believe also that the Spirit of the Christ is in the majority of the workers to-day. As a Trades Union leader, it is my misfortune at times to have to go to miners' meetings on a Sunday morning. I have had some strange experiences. I have addressed a miners' meeting in the morning, a Brotherhood in the afternoon, and preached a sermon at night: and I have felt that it was all work for the uplifting of humanity. And I have noticed in my miners' meetings, when it has been a matter of discussing a strike, and I have used Scriptural quotations, it has been received with appreciation. The men feel the Christ-Spirit within them. You read the

**The Christ-Spirit
in the
Movement.**

history of the Trade Union Movement, the history of your Nonconformist Movement, and you will find wherever your Nonconformist Movement has made rapid strides, so has your Trade Union Movement at the same time. It has aroused within these men a spirit of independence, a spirit and desire to strike out for the highest and best life possible. I believe that as Labour people with religious convictions, we ought to make a propaganda of our beliefs throughout the entire world, and link up

A World-Wide Europe, Asia, and all foreign countries into one common union of brotherhood, believing in the one Christ.
Propaganda Needed.

That is the way men can create inspiration and put before their fellow-creatures these great ideals—materialistic if you like to call them so, but always having behind them the spiritual ideals, too. Mr. Westrope spoke about the Christ coming from the carpenter's bench. Yes, and the Christ I pin my faith to sprang certainly from the same class as I have sprung from—from the working-class. He did not meet His opposition from the working-class. The common people heard Him gladly. But He met opposition from the capitalistic ruling class of His time. They were the people that persecuted the Christ of that day. And right down the ages we find, when Labour has wanted to express its ideals, either through its religious or its industrial emancipation, you always find the same class who opposed the Christ opposing these ideals. I am one of those who are proud that the Christ-Spirit is within me, and helps me in my industrial work to inspire more men to nobler and higher ideals.

REV. TOM WARREN.

I have listened to all the speeches yesterday and to-day, and some of the discussions here, and I am wondering where all these Churches are that are filled with capitalists, and people that are against the masses of the working people. For I have now been a minister in this city for thirty years, and I know churches just as well as my friend knows the miners; because we are inside. Whatever is

going on inside the church, the parson knows, and not the man who is outside. As far as I know them, the folks I have had to minister to are people who have to labour and delve and put up with all the things that the Labour people are putting up with. They have to earn their living. They are not rich folks. I should not think of discussing the miners' problem, because I don't know it. 'And sometimes it would be worth while for the man who has not been inside the church for twenty-five years to know that he is not capable of discussing what the Church is. I happen to belong to a church that has adult suffrage, and, as our friend says, they could come inside and capture it. The people themselves elect the minister, say what his stipend should be, and give him the sack when they don't want him. If the working man were inside a church like that, what could he not do with that church? There is the church, at his disposal absolutely to do what he wants done. The church is his. Cannot we just get over these suspicions about each other? Cannot we rather try to see what is good rather than that which is ill? Wouldn't it be well to concentrate upon all the great things that are done? I was pleased to hear the cheer of this meeting at the names mentioned one by one by my friend, Basil Mathews. But every man of them sent out had been sent out by the Church. These men did their work because the Church was behind them, because the finance came from the Church, and they would not have been sent out if there had not been a Church here. I could mention a score of these men in the past twenty-five years, all of whom were Christian men, and I am afraid you do not give us just the credit that should be given.

SENATOR VINCK on the Formula Required.

If I understand well, the question put to-day is, Can the Religion in the Labour Movement be made the Subject of World-Wide Propaganda? If we want to make it an International Movement, we must give it an International basis. It was said, Can it be? Somebody answered, It must. Morally we have always said it must.

But we did not succeed. For hundreds and hundreds of years all the moral teachers have said it must. But the question is how to make it an International Movement. If we are going out here each in his direction, the one going to Belgium, another to Sweden, or to Denmark, or remaining in England, we will have said what we know already for a very long time. It must. Surely. But how to do it? Therefore, as I am not sure that I can stay until Friday, I should like to say a few words on this question of continuation.

This is just the beginning here, a very happy beginning. But until there is a committee instituted to continue the Movement and to be in touch with

Consult All all the Labour organisations and try to
Labour Groups. find a method to obtain from them that they should be busy with this question,

I think that we must not have a pretension in such a first meeting to find a definite formula. We must try for ourselves to define the problem first. But I say it must be an International Movement. It must be a Religious Movement. I agree to that. You know my

Religious, But
Not of One
Creed.

position. But I agree that it must be a Religious Movement in the sense of that which was said in one of the very interesting speeches this morning, that to be religious is to believe in an ideal and to work for this ideal. Therefore I must say that I think it cannot be a purely Christian Movement, because you wish to include Mohammedans, Buddhists, Japanese and Chinese. I think and I have the pretension—it may be very pretentious—to *act* as a Christian, but I can no longer *believe* as a Christian, though I was educated so. As things were in Belgium, it was impossible for me to remain a Christian, because of the social and political attitude taken up by our clergymen. But I think I am acting as a Christian, and I think it is better to act as a Christian than to believe in the Divinity of Christ and to act to the contrary of His teaching.

The most great and difficult work of this Continuation

Committee will be to find a formula that we all can accept.

Who Has Given the Best Formula? Above this formula we will put then our beliefs or belief in a Christ who had given the best formula—I may say I believe so myself, but I must not there-

fore narrowly believe in the anthropomorphic Divinity of Christ. Another will find in Buddhism very nice rules of morality. Well, why not adopt those? It would be terribly dangerous if you should make a narrow Church movement of this. We would divide working people instead of uniting them in a great religious belief and idea. We would revive those struggles that you do not know as we have known them in Belgium in the sixteenth century, men killing one another. Surely I do not say that they did it otherwise than for an ideal at that moment. It can be historically explained. They did not do it out of

To Unite and Not Divide. narrow or bad sentiments, but nevertheless you have not had the struggle that we have suffered. It would not be a good result of this Conference if we were to divide the working people into different religious sections, each saying that he has the best and others have none. As I said in conclusion yesterday, and have to say to-day, we have to find expression of the moral basis of the Labour Movement—or the religious basis, if you like better the word; it is all the same to me—and then leave each people to put above it the divinity or origin of these transcendental rules. Therefore, I should be very happy if at the Friday meeting the conclusion should be the nomination of a permanent committee to study these questions and to be in touch with all the Labour Movements in the world.

F. HERBERT STEAD on Labour Evangelists.

The discussion this morning lacks certain elements of definiteness. We have agreed apparently, that the implicit religion of the Labour Movement can be made explicit and can become the theme of a world-wide propaganda. We have had yesterday certain endeavours made to express the implicit religion of the Labour Movement—the Fatherhood of God interpreted as Bishop Gore interpreted it, the

Brotherhood of Man, and the ethical sovereignty of Jesus Christ. To that ethical sovereignty, our friend who has just sat down, so beautifully paid his homage by saying that he believes in acting as a Christian. That is what we mean by the moral ascendancy of Jesus Christ. If we put our wills under Him, we are acknowledging His moral ascendancy. We had also reference made to sacrifice, to service, to loyalty to organisation, to a sublime faith in the future, in the forces of evolution, in the transcendental principles of morality, in the Divine

How to Start the Propaganda. forces that rule in the universe. These have been to some extent precipitated—

I do not say in final form. We have only gone so far as to recognise that there are things that can be expressed and there are things that can be made the subject of world-wide propaganda. The next point is, how are we going to set about this world-propaganda?

Bishop Gore yesterday suggested, and cordially endorsed a further suggestion made to him, that at every great industrial centre those who believe in the religion that is implicit in the Labour Movement, whether they

Conferences in Industrial Centres. are Labour men or other class of men, should meet together and try and arrive at some definite method of extending their views and of making more manifest and explicit the religious life that is now latent in the working classes. That is a definite propaganda.

Then Brother Westrope has referred to the possibility of an International Labour College, where working men and women may be trained, both to

A Labour College. know the religious principles which are implicit in their action, and to be able to express them in a way that would influence their fellow-workers. That is another suggestion.

And may I say that my own belief is that we want, for World-Labour-Evangelism, a race of

Wanted, Labour Evangelists. Labour Evangelists, young men and women belonging to the Labour Movement who will give up their spare time, first to be quite sure of what their faith is and to learn to

express it in terms that will commend it to their fellows; and then devote their spare time to heralding this common Gospel of Labour to the world.

People will say: That is simply the old Methodist local preacher or Congregational lay preacher. It is, but with one great difference. I grant you that if only all the Churches had been as magnificently loyal to the great collectivist ideals of the movement as our Primitive Methodist local preachers have been, who have really led

**The old Lay
Preacher in a
New Light.**

the miners more than any other class of men, in or outside the Churches, or our Wesleyan local preachers, and sometimes our Baptist local preachers, we should not have had so much to deplore as we have to-day. But as I said to a representative of the Wesleyan Church, there is this difference. You will admit that your Wesleyan Methodist local preachers are, as a whole, under the domination of middle-class ideals. You have in your Methodist Churches an enormous majority of working men and women. But in your Methodist Churches it is not the proletarian ideal that rules, it is the middle-class ideal—middle-class education for your ministers, middle-class ideals for your local preachers. It is the middle-class ideal that dominates. He admitted that what is wanted is a race of local preachers, men and women, who will not be under the domination of the middle-class ideals of the Churches.

**“ Democratic ”
Churches.**

Inside the Churches—and I know something of Churches, I am not speaking from outside—the dominant influence is a middle-class one. It has been said this morning, “ We are a democratic Church, and it only needs working men to come in.” I know how working men have been treated when they have come into these “ democratic ” Churches. When I once suggested a working man should be a deacon in a certain church, the other deacons held up their hands and said, “ But he is only a working man ! ” I am glad to say I fought my point through, and he became a deacon of the church and has occupied one of the most trusted and honoured positions in the community to which he belongs. It is

this spirit—that if a man is not of a certain economic status he is not fitted to rule in a church, or if he does not contribute a large sum towards the stipend of the minister, and does not therefore exercise the influence that belongs to a well-to-do position, he is not suited to rule. You know that in the “democratic” “Congregational” churches of the West Riding the working men call the churches, not after the name of the minister,

but after the name of the mill-owner who finds the money for the running of the church. We want to have a race of

Labour Evangelists who will, from the first, be free from that bourgeois influence, who will accept and proclaim the proletarian Gospel of the Man of Nazareth. We know quite well whose shall be the first place in a society in which the Kingdom is recognised as belonging to the poor, and in which the rich who may, by the Almighty power of God, find his place, is yet ordinarily suspect. There is no man here who knows anything of the interior life of churches but will say that such a change of attitude would mean a tremendous revolution in our churches.

Here are working people that have their religious faith. We want them to say, “We accept this faith that has been our strength, and will, we believe, be the salvation of the world. We will study it, we will teach it, and we will endeavour to evangelise the whole world with the true Gospel of Labour, which is the Gospel of the Man of Nazareth.”

A BRAHMAN SOLDIER.

I will confine myself to the Eastern problem. As our friend, Mr. Mathews, remarked, in the Orient the question of Labour is not going on very much. The present situation in India, China, Japan or Egypt or Africa, as far as Labour is concerned, is very gloomy, and the future is

not very hopeful either. Those people are leaving religion altogether aside, and the spirit is becoming more sordid, more mean, more irreligious. What are

**The East
Depressed.**

the reasons of all this? I think those people are depressed because they have lost all their hope in religion. I may be wrong, but so far as this has come under my personal observation they have not become irreligious because they have become more materialistic, but it is the materialism of the capitalistic class which is driving them to such an extent that they are flinging aside all religious ideas, whether they are good or bad. They have begun to hate the Church as an organised Church. Those who are in charge of the Church at present in our Oriental countries, without any exception, unfortunately are not the type of men who would understand the situation very much. In the first place these men who come from foreign countries to give the light to the people are men who cannot get any job over here, and so they come and preach the Gospel! They are not fit for that. We people in the East

do not require the refuse, the rubbish of
The Right Type of Missionary. the West. Send us a democratic Bishop like Gore, send us George Lansbury,

who will uplift the people and teach them the true religion, give people the real true principle of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. I myself am a Brahman. Still I must admit that Christianity has a great message for the whole world, including all my countrymen. We are at present in a dilemma. We do not know what to do. We are split up among ourselves in different castes and classes, and a Christian missionary comes and preaches to the Labour class, to the masses, and tries to educate them. What he does is to create

another new caste among ourselves.
Do not Create a New Caste. We already have hundreds, and here is one more additional. What

we want is, as our friend from Belgium has remarked, not to impose upon the people a certain particular kind of religion. They have their national characteristics, and they might be more suitable to them than to you. Do not forget that men were not made for religion, but religion was made for men. Civilisation is not something you can impose upon a foreign country, especially a foreign civilisation. Civilisation is the product of time, and we must have regard

for it. We do want the help of true and honest folk, who are anxious to make the future of the world in such a way as to take the best from present conditions and infuse a new spirit into it. All the world is looking to-day to

**The World
Looking to
England.**

England for example. Especially all the labouring people who are oppressed and depressed by aristocratic and capitalistic classes all over the world are looking forward with a great hope. I wish I could explain in more forcible language how working men in all parts of the world have their eyes centred on this country. Their destiny depends upon the progress or the downfall of Labour in England. It is a great responsibility. I urge the leading spirits of the Labour Movement in this country to help and encourage other countries who are not in a position to stand against oppression. Religion is something essential. We need it very badly to-day. The whole world needs religion much more to-day than ever, especially Labour, who has to fight a very hard battle. She needs more consolation and moral encouragement, and that can be only created and given by God, or by a great principle of morality. And this I have learned by my personal experience since I have been in the British Army, that things are not going on very well, either in this country or all over the world, as far as the Labour Movement and Religion

**Experience
in the Army.**

are concerned. I only draw my conclusion from the generation with whom I have come in contact, and I can safely say that the Church is not making any progress, and if she is not losing ground certainly she is standing still. The most unpopular and despised parade is the church parade. To say this may not be polite. It may be only my particular regiment where I learnt this experience, and I was surprised to see it. I would divide my friends into three groups, as far as the Church is concerned. Most of the members of our regiment were members of Trade Unions and common labourers. I would divide them into Right, Centre and Left. The Right, which was not a large number, were good Christians, clean, honest, and very enthusiastic in their religion. The Centre were

mostly, I would say, men who would go to church simply for the sake of going to church. These are the men who, when they were born and raised up learned to go to church, but the Church has got a very little grip on the minds of these people. This grip is so loose and artificial that it is liable to cut away, and on one side lies the deep abyss. If the Church ever helps to loosen this grip, heaven knows if the opportunity will ever be regained. These are the central part of the men in the present generation. They are not very enthusiastic to combine themselves in Church. And the Left is, of course, very extreme. They form the minority. They are atheists; they won't do anything with the Church at all. They are intelligent, they are honest. Here is the present need of the time, to make the Church more attractive to the masses generally. Think that we are living in the twentieth century. We need a new Church in new form, that will meet the needs of the present generation. We need a twentieth century Church for twentieth century people.

**A Twentieth
Century
Wanted.**

MISS KORMAN.

Do you need religion? I do not know what you believe to give to the people instead. But all religion has to be better understood. Will you make propaganda? Yes. During this time of war I was living here in England. I did not see very much sign, but I confess that I lived in better conditions amongst you English people than I would be in Russia amongst my own. Perhaps I would not be alive. Why? I am a pacifist. I do not believe in wars amongst nations. Now I can say that. Before I could not. I do not believe in wars amongst classes. I am through and through a pacifist. I was all the time thinking why Christianity, that had such good foundations, could not prevent this War. Yet Christian people have not done anything to prevent it. Men of science have done nothing to prevent it. What will be the next war?

OWEN JONES.

I want to give a practical turn to the discussion. To make this matter of the world-wide propaganda effective, it will have to be on moral and ethical and educative lines. How can we stimulate and educate working men and give them the Gospel? The villages are sleepy, and these things are the privilege of those who live in towns. Could not the ministers of the churches in towns itinerate in the village, and while they are propagating this new economic Gospel where it is most needed they could trust to the educated laymen for the work in town? A great amount of money is spent on missionary work which might be saved in this way, by getting back to the old Gospel principles and labouring for their living at the same time as they preach the Gospel. The Church in this country would have a greater and nobler influence if the ministers would fill the gaps among teachers in the schools, and earn their living in other professions. It is the ministers that are lapped in luxury who decrease loyalty to the churches. Soldiers would be good missionaries abroad. For the work in town especially there should be shops for the sale of literature, which might be made entirely self-supporting. If you want to get further particulars and see what I mean, take a trip to Hampstead and visit the Betterment Book Saloon.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1919.

The Chairman : F. HERBERT STEAD.

We will begin by hearing a poem on Brotherhood, recited to us by the poet, and if I have the privilege for the first time of introducing the poet to this audience, those who are present will consider this a memorable day indeed. Miss May Doney is a poet, I may venture to say, of exceptional and distinctive type. She has struck a new note—so far as my knowledge goes—in human literature. She has boldly opened the way to a loftier conception, a religious conception, a Divine conception, of the true relation between man and woman. Sex passion, which has been hitherto left as the happy hunting ground of the devil, has been by her boldly claimed as the very home of God; and instead of making an appeal to the sex instinct, as the pornographer does, in order to wrap us round with the lurid flames of Gehenna, she has, with calm courage and with exquisite delicacy, appealed to that instinct in the name of God, until the reader feels that human life at its inception and at its consummation is transfigured in the Light Eternal. I have the very great pleasure of introducing to you May Doney, one of the pioneers of the most lofty developments in social life.

BROTHERHOOD.

BY MAY DONEY.*

There is a sea, illimitably shored,
That waits the kings of courage fearless-eyed;
All other seas adventure has explored;
But out across this ocean's fulness ride
No fleets with wealth of ev'ry harvest stored,
No crews intrepid daring far and wide.

It is so deep, all storms within it die;
A breast of motion so superbly sure,
That all its waves in one great rhythm lie
In pulsant poise, tremendous and secure,
Beneath a vast, ineffable, clear sky
Whose span is always heav'n, in radiance pure.

*Author of "The Way of Wonder" and "Songs of the Real."

Men have put forth upon it truths they dreamed,
 And sought its centre with their hopes and pray'rs,
 Where, brimming with the life-flood, myriad-streamed,
 From woman's bosom, in supernal airs
 It waits until its purpose is redeemed
 By carrying mankind's serene affairs.

And man from little isles of self essays
 The fringes of its promise fearfully;
 But keeps his anchor fastened to the ways
 Of doubt and dread and false expediency;
 Man who upon the keel of proving's praise
 Might in the soul's triumphant range be free!

God looks upon its framing by His Mind,
 And, in His Patience, calls it "very good";
 Before the earth's fire from the sun inclined,
 Within His Will its mighty measure stood;
 Yet, 'ere creation took its forms assigned,
 God felt His Own Blood shaping *Brotherhood*.

Upon its tide the peoples shall be peace,
 In love's continual traffic, rich and strong;
 Its rhythmic surges under that increase
 Shall be fulfilled in their insistent song
 Whose flow, in foaming crests that never cease,
 Is "Brother! brother!" through their countless throng.

But when shall this eternal conquest make
 Men's thoughts a golden trading each with each?
 Ye blind! ye cowards! ye that will not take
 The unknown glory past your shallow beach!
 How long uncharted, for your folly's sake,
 Shall this bright sea of benediction reach?

Are ye, within the sphere of God's control!
 Afraid to search that mystery unspaced,
 Your brother's unsought, undiscovered soul,
 Lest it should hurt or leave you wrongly placed?—
 Lest it should prove too perilous a goal—
 A menace, dark-browed, fierce-eyed, treacherous-faced?

With such a sun as GOD's smile over it,
 Such wind of favour as the breath supreme,
 Shall faith within still, land-locked harbours sit,
 Afraid to grasp the rudder of good dream
 And turn the bows into that wonder knit
 Of brother's trust in brother's staunch esteem?

When shall it be, ye mariners unproved?
 When shall your spirits in their navies spread
 From out your narrow harbours custom-grooved,
 Brave-set for love's immensity ahead?
 When shall the souls of East and West have moved
 To where the sea returns the prophets' bread?

And, O, ye privileged, world-ruling ones!
 Within whose flesh arise its feeding springs—
 Whose multitudinous motherhood of sons
 Both ships and waters to this ocean brings—
 From what ye are, and teach, what shall be runs,
 Out of your nurs'ries and child-bosomings.

How long, ye men and women, shall it wait!
 The last sea—left undared, unlike the rest;
 How long shall spirits destined to be great,
 In littleness shrink back from freedom's quest?
 To-day cries "To such commerce consummate
 Put out, faint souls untravelled, breast for breast!"

REV. TOM SYKES

(Secretary to the National Council of Brotherhoods).

I very much appreciate the honour of the opportunity of attending this Conference and saying a few words this morning with reference to the Brotherhood Movement. I had a most delightful time, as we all had, on Tuesday morning, and as I listened to the succession of impressive addresses I felt that my task this morning was quite an easy one, because the addresses given that morning, and evidently endorsed by the delegates present, expressed the fundamental thoughts, aims, and purposes of the Brotherhood Movement. Therefore, if those principles are to find embodiment and expression, they will naturally take the form of brotherhood.

Before I come to the immediate formation and methods of Brotherhoods, I should like, if I may, to take a few moments with regard to the fundamental convictions and purposes of this Brotherhood Movement. I

Two Essentials of Religion. I take it that we are anxious to find how we can make the religion implicit in Labour explicit and active. There are one or two things about religion that I think we ought to have clear in our minds. There are two indispensable qualifications in the individual and in society, if religion is to be real. There must be, in the individual and in society, a combination of conviction and sympathy. I say they are indispensable. Conviction without sympathy produces the bigot, ecclesiastical or otherwise, and bigotry is not limited, mind you, to the ecclesiastic. Sympathy without conviction produces the impressionist, the sloppy sentimentalist. But a combination of conviction and sympathy produces the source and condition of all virtue, becoming the personality of healthy society, and the only progress that is worthy of the name or worth having on this planet of ours. So whether it be religion implicit in Labour or in Brotherhood or in ecclesiasticism, I suggest most respectfully to this Conference that if religion is to be real those qualities are indispensable.

Now, if they are, that leads me to a further point, that religion must have some form of fraternity, fellowship, and deliberate collective expression. My

A Third Thing Needful. friend, Mr. Sheppard, of Bristol—and I count it an honour to have such a distinguished Christian gentleman as my

friend—was speaking on Tuesday morning with regard to the amount of anonymous unselfish activity of Trade Unions. I felt how true his statement was. At the same time I felt how much more powerful it might be if it were encouraged and nurtured by some deliberate form of worship. We cannot get away from the fact that religion, as such, must have deliberate cultivation, if it is to be sovereign in life. May I interpolate that

Religion Indispensable to Man. unless it is sovereign it is not there? We shall have to abandon the notion that religion is a special reserve or perquisite

of ecclesiastical organisations, or that it is something which can either go up or down according as communities frown at it or favour it. It is something that never would have been in humanity if humanity could have managed without it. We have paid so high a price in history for discovering the meaning of religion that if we could have got on without it, and progress in life, we should have done so. The old idea, that lived all too long and has a few lingering representatives yet, that religion was something imposed by priests and monarchs upon a credulous community in order to make them behave themselves and be submissive to the authorities above them, is as dead as Lot's wife. It might have obtained in the Roman Empire. In fact it did. The Senators, as you know, imported into Rome all kinds of superstitions and crude magic-mongering to overawe the rebellious populace. It worked for a time. But we are living not in the Roman Empire. We are living in the twentieth century, and surely we have sufficient intelligence and moral insight to believe that we are not in a universe that is run on the principle of Mas-kelyne and Cooke, where conjuring has to be done in order to keep things decent. We are living in

What God is. a universe that is honourable and straightforward, and where the dealings of God with man are not managed on the principle of secret diplomacy. He is frank, kind-hearted, consistent; and wherever there is the disposition in any person, irrespective of mental development or social class, wherever there is the disposition of the true child, of the spirit of wonder, openness, confidence and trust in Him, they can get straight to His heart and win for themselves all that they need. Therefore I assume in human society that Sabatier is correct in his philosophy when he says that he is religious because he cannot

Man Incurably help it. And humanity is inevitably and
Religious. incurably religious. The distinctive need in human society is just there. If

— we had been swayed merely by a welter of instincts or appetites, we should have been as stationary in our society as the beaver and the bee or the ant. We have progressed—commercially, industrially, socially, as well as in what

we specifically call the moral and spiritual sphere. We have it all because there is the capacity in man to stand apart from his experience, analyse it, learn its lessons, then experiment with what he has learned, improve upon it, and so go forward. History is a preceptor with authority in this matter, and it is as true to-day as ever, that no form of human society has ever remained healthy and wholesome when religion has been relegated to a secondary place in its life.

The next thing that I want to say is that we have come to a time in world-history when the old hard and fast division of human life into secular and sacred is false, pernicious, and it seems to me that nearly all the difficulties swing around that one point. The old hard and fast line of separation in our values, in our assessment of behaviour, in our practical relationships of life, secular and sacred, is fundamentally false. Man cannot live by bread alone. Neither can he live without it. And all the things that concern human life, because they influence more or less the throbbing nerve of the soul, are therefore sacred, therefore religious.

That means, I know, a great deal. It means restating some and abandoning more of the traditional ideas of man's place on this planet. The old idea that this earth of ours is a scene where we have to pay the penalty of some delinquency of our ancestors, and that we are governed by a whimsical sort of a God, who is going to judge us and send us to perdition if we do not do what we are told, has got to go. It has gone, perhaps. I wish it were gone further. Our life here is a beginning, and we shall be very fortunate if we just get it a start. Around us on the physical side are many aggravatingly forceful things—birth, nationality, sex, —**Universalised**. physical strength or weakness, opportunity of education, and so on. They are inevitable, and they influence us tremendously. There is something in us which can realise this, something in us that can see the glamour, feel the challenge, of the ideal. It is that which we call our consciousness, our soul, our

seat of religion; and if that higher side of humanity is partitioned off and kept for a bit of exercise on Sunday, and the whole of the other reach of life is thrust out into the mad scramble of the secular, then man is committing suicide deliberately. The something in us which recognises the ideal ought to control and direct and govern all that happens in the other realms. In other words, religion ought to be as real over the counter as it is at the Communion Table, as obvious in the market-place as it is in the place of worship.

I want to go on to say this, that we have reached a stage in human history when we have to decide whether

By Muscles	we are going to live by our muscles or
or Morals?	our morals. I don't mean that as a mere bit of alliteration! We have lived by the former in the main up to now.

The terrific judgment that overtook Europe, which we have paid a terrible price for in blood, ultimately went back to this, the quality in men and nations that ought to have lifted them into fellowship with the Unseen and brought them into helpful relations with one another, has been prostituted into the cunning, astute tool whereby the physical and the lower nature could be satisfied. We are in a universe where nothing is too costly for justice. There is no solution for the aggravating problems of our time, no constructive, positive solution, except we bring to bear upon these problems the quality and temper of the Highest to their solution.

I will put it this way. You will never solve, say, our domestic economic difficulties so long as you keep them purely in their realm of economics. You

Cash-Nexus	will always have strife and friction
Insufficient.	whilst you purely keep them there. Suppose you have £5,000 and I have 15s.,

and you want some of my strength to make your £5,000 valuable to you, and I want some of the results of that to keep me and mine alive: and the only point where we touch one another is your need of my labour and my need of some of your profits. You will get all you can out of me for as little as possible. I do the same with you. And

if that be the sole and final ground upon which we are going to attempt to settle our industrial difficulties, it is no use talking about religion implicit or explicit. The chief good and market of our time is but to sleep and feed, and we are beasts, no more. But surely there is a higher point of contact than that. And if this old matter of economics had not been relegated to the secular realm, we would not be where we are to-day. If the essential morality of man had been made sovereign in commerce and politics, we would have a contact, a point of view, a mutual respect, an overflowing eagerness, not simply to give as little for as much as we could get, but to give all we could to one another because we were human brothers. So far as religion is concerned, there is no salvation, either in time or eternity until that is practised.

I will put it another way. We will say you were born into a home that has a name which is a golden ornament.

You have five talents; you have clean
Thy Brother's blood and noble instincts. You have all
Keeper. the opulent enrichment of education and training. I was born into a home the name of which is a byword. My blood is tainted, my instincts are grovelling. I was reared in the poison of slumdom. Don't think that your good fortune gives you any right to take advantage of my misfortune and to assume superiority over me. Your good fortune imposes upon you a responsibility for me. There is no heaven nor salvation nor anything else for you, either in time or eternity, unless you come and kindly and helpfully link your wealth and advantage to my poverty and help me up a bit. And when you appear before the Great Judge He will not ask you if you were a Catholic or Anglican or Methodist. They don't know anything about those labels in other realms. They are the little things that belong to us little people on this planet. No, He will ask you for me. If you can show Him that I am a better man because of you than I could have been without you, He will say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant! You did it to one of the least; therefore you did it unto Me."

I want to close, apologising for trespassing over my

time. I have told you in the briefest, most tabloid, form in which I could put it, what is the aim of this Brotherhood Movement. I came to it two years ago. I am prepared to admit that it had not had up to that point the efficiency of organisation, perhaps intelligence of direction, that it deserved. But after you have heard me you will be sure it is getting them now! We are non-credal, in the sense of imposing no particular credal test upon any man. We are non-political in the sense of party politics, but that does not mean we are politically neutral. We gather men together anywhere, in a church, in a hall, for a definite religious service, mostly on a Sunday afternoon, and often on a Sunday evening. Every society has full local autonomy. There may be a locality where one form of service is suitable, another in another locality. We are bound together in federations, then into a National Council, of which, as you have heard, I have the honour to be Secretary. The services are hearty, fraternal, shared by members. There is nothing approaching ecclesiastical separateness in those who conduct the services. Beyond that, we are arranging now for lectures during the week, forming a Brotherhood Students' Union. We have had given to us facilities for forming something like a holiday home and retreat, and we are hoping to get two thousand adults, men and women, who will preach this gospel of brotherhood anywhere and everywhere they have the opportunity. I want to say, on behalf of the leaders of this movement, that we have no desire to shape ourselves into anything like a separate or exclusive thing. Where a Church will give a Brotherhood a chance, the Church can have the Brotherhood and all the blessing that the Brotherhood will bring to it. Where a Trade Union or any other society believing in human brotherhood will have one, we are anxious to establish them. During the War we have distributed in various parts of distressed Europe, in cash and goods, not less than £100,000 worth of relief. We have not advertised it in the Press. We do not wish to advertise it. It has been done. With what consequence? In Northern France, in Belgium, in Egypt and Palestine, in Armenia and in the Balkans, great roads—not doors but

roads—are open to us to go and preach this gospel of Brotherhood. We shall meet with opposition on the part of the moribund ecclesiasticisms that have blighted some of those regions. We are not going to spend our time quarrelling with them. We are going to accept the suggestion in that beautiful poem we have listened to, and dare everything that democracy may be safe for the world.

I am afraid I have wandered somewhat round the subject. I was anxious to impress this Conference that this Brotherhood Movement is not what some people who do not know deride as being a brainless thing, but sentimentally alive. It is a deeper and fuller tide of Christian good and human welfare that does not postpone the blessedness of life beyond the stars, but tries to realise it here upon earth.

MR. TAYLOR.

I have been a member of the Adult School Movement for thirty years, and I am a member of the Brotherhood Movement too. I helped to form the **Adult School Education—** Associations for Derby and Nottinghamshire, and was the first joint delegate of the two counties. So I have had some part in the responsibility for the advancement of the Brotherhood Movement.

The Adult School Movement is one of the movements that has carried on a religious and educational system right away from its inauguration. I do feel that it has been one of the things that has helped us and given us education and enabled us to see this one idea, namely, that Christianity is more than creed, and that its application must be carried out in common life, if we are going to save the nations of the world. We tackle all sorts of subjects, all sorts of social questions. We have tackled the housing problem. Our own School and our own Brotherhood Societies in our district have been the means—four of us devoting one year all our time—of inspecting all the insanitary areas of the borough. We scheduled one thousand seven hundred houses —and **Municipal Reform.** under Section 10 of the Town Planning Act of 1909, and four hundred house-

holders waited upon the local authority to remedy these defects. Slumdom has its moral aspect, in human demoralisation, as well as its social aspect. The Corporation refused to do anything because the City Fathers were more like old grandmothers than anything else! We brought the Local Government Board and a Government inquiry down upon them, and they issued an order whereby they had to carry out and put the compulsory clauses into operation, to purchase the land for the purposes of housing—and then the War broke out. This housing was suspended. Now we have recommenced operations, and have got one of the largest and finest schemes I know, whereby we are revolutionising our housing, not merely by demolishing but by reconstruction on a new basis of town planning, which will give better opportunities to the people, morally, socially and intellectually.

The Adult School Movement has a way of connecting men together. We don't ask whether a man has a creed or not, whether he goes to a church or chapel, whether he goes anywhere at all.

Deep Spiritual Longing.

The one thing is this: we try to get in contact with him by every kind of opportunity, we try to mould him, and when we get hold of him we can utilise this human material to greater advantage in a Brotherhood Movement or Adult School Movement than we thought we could. There is no doubt about it that there is a deep longing for something practical in the application of our Christian ideas to common life. That has been desired by the common people, by the poorest of the poor. I am one of those who venture to believe that what we call economics or bare materialism is not going to be the panacea to solve all the problems. I do not know that we have any blue-blooded aristocrats on this platform. At least I am not aware

My Antecedents. of it. I was born in the city of Manchester, in a slum off Ancoats. I never went to school. My father was a collier and spent his money in drink. I can remember more dinner times than dinners. I went to the Ragged School on Sunday mornings so that I might get buns and coffee. I have travelled in various parts of Europe and Asia since then, and all

over Great Britain, speaking on social and economic problems and religious questions for the Adult School Movement and Brotherhood Movement, and for industrial and trade organisations. The time has arrived when we must give a chance to those whose environment has militated against them. I had no chance and no opportunity in life. I never had a day's schooling in my life, and when I was twenty years of age I could not understand the whole of the alphabet. I then started to go to school, because I joined the Army, not to fight but to see the great country of India. I spent ten years there getting into touch with the people of the country. Then I went in for education, and got three certificates of education, and became a first class non-commissioned officer on my discharge.

The Adult School Movement has a lesson handbook, which gives you certain lessons: a passage of Scripture that we generally read, certain Fellowship hymns that we generally sing, allied to the subject. And then it gives you some brief ideas by way of exposition, a little synopsis of the concrete things that are underlying the questions that we are going to discuss, not binding us to anything, but acting as a guide. We are free to give our own

Democratic Education. explanation of what we think about the various issues we are discussing. What I have found, both in the Brotherhood Movement and in the Adult School Move-

ment, is that they are religious educational institutions—I believe one of the best in the country of its kind—gathering together upon a democratic basis, upon an equal footing, all kinds of men, with creeds and with no creeds, and giving them free expression and an opportunity to become better citizens, better suited for the furtherance of public life, so that the world may be better because they have lived.

The Adult School has its Guest Houses in various parts of the country, where you can go for rest. Now it was one of the delights of my life when I

Guest Houses. was down at Tykeford Abbey, the Guest House of the Brotherhood Movement.

We are trying to develop that spirit that will be some-

thing, not only for the Sunday, but for every day. We want something which is both religious and practical.

One of the saddest things the Adult School Movement and Brotherhood Movement have suffered from in connection with the War is in the men that we have lost. Tom Sykes told you about the £100,000 contributed to relieve the distress in various parts of Europe, but really it is not only £100,000. It is more than £200,000. That £100,000 all went through the National Council, but all the rest was sent from the various Federations. I am glad to know that the comradeship and contributions and the unison and the harmony and the desire to help that have been shown have opened up roads that we never anticipated before. We did expect, some of us, that we were going to see our young men come back with new ideas, who would be rushing to our Brotherhood meetings and associating themselves with our Adult Schools. I am sorry to say that experience has not been realised.

**Returned
Soldiers Not
Returning.**

This question of Religion and Labour, the application of the democratic ideal and the developing of human life, is more important than ever. After all, the person who thinks he only has his own little soul to save, and wants to keep his own soul in security, only proves he has no soul to save! "Save thou another soul, and it shall save thine own." Whatever our creed may be, whatever difference we may have in details of management, let us be in harmony, so that whatever we do may work towards the solidarity of man. Let us be one in heart and purpose. Let us make the world within our reach better for our living. Posterity will enjoy it when we have gone, if we have inaugurated movements of such a kind.

SIGFRID SIRENIUS.*

When it is asked, what social embodiment does this religion demand? it is here a great difficulty comes in, especially if you mean an international social embodiment for the work to be done. I have been listening with great interest to the discussion in this Conference. I think we ought to be careful not to give this Conference any character of an intention to stamp the Labour Movement itself as an agency for propagating the religion which is implicit in the Labour Movement. We believe the principal aims

of the Labour Movement are in general
Need of Caution. harmony with the Christian religion, and
 in the Labour Movement there are
 masses of men and women who are certainly sincerely religious. But we must remember there are within this great movement millions of men who would feel indignation, perhaps disgust, at the thought of the Labour Movement becoming a sort of religious movement. The Labour Movement as such ought not to make any pronouncement of religious character at all. I for my part suppose that

* SIGFRID SIRENIUS, a Finnish pastor, while in charge of the Finnish Seamen's Mission at Stepney, came into residence in the Browning Settlement, where, as he says, he was born anew to social Christianity. He went back to Finland and became Editorial Secretary to the Finnish Missionary Society. But he was resolved to introduce there the Labour Movement in Religion as he had known it in Browning Hall. He organised the visit of the Warden in 1913, and a series of meetings which led to a new attitude in the Finnish Church towards social movements, and a better understanding with the social democracy. Mr. Sirenus became practically the leader of the Christian Social Movement in Finland, indefatigable with tongue and pen. By means of translation and original writings he has circulated Christian social pamphlets by the tens of thousands. In the convulsions caused by the Red Revolution he narrowly escaped massacre. He has resigned his post as Editorial Secretary to the Missionary Society and become Secretary to the Society for Evangelising Industrial Centres, and in that capacity is beginning work as a Head of the first Social Settlement in Helsingfors. By one of the humours of Providence, the premises to be occupied by the new Settlement were erected by the Russian Government in memory of General Bobrikoff, who paid the penalty of his tyranny at the assassin's hand. So the memorial of tragic oppression becomes the home of the Labour Movement in Religion!

it is one of the secrets of the success of the British Labour Movement that even the great Christian leaders of this movement do not bring any religious questions with them upon the Labour platforms. And on the other hand the failure of the International Labour Movement is to a great extent accounted for by the fact that the religious questions in the form of anti-religious propaganda have to such a great extent been made a part of the Labour Movement itself on the Continent. I venture to make this statement,

that the more sympathetic to Christianity
A Paradox. a particular Labour Movement becomes,
 the less it deals in its public policy with
 religious questions. If I have understood Mr. Li, from Norway, aright, the Norwegian Social Democratic Labour Party has altogether dropped the religious clause in its programme, and I am sure this is one of the signs which indicate that the Norwegian Social Democratic Labour Movement is becoming more sympathetic to religion. Thus we must be very careful not to give offence to anyone in the Labour Movement by pressing it into some kind of definite religious statement. And secondly, we must remember that there are in the Labour Movement, as it is, like all other movements, composed of imperfect, often very feeble and selfish and sinful men, many ways and methods which are decidedly contradictory, and at any rate in dis-harmony with the religion of Christ. In face of this, if we talk very much of the religion implicit in the Labour Movement as such, it would sound something

like hypocrisy in the ears of innumerable
Do not Commit honest men. Therefore I think the
the Labour Labour Movement itself ought not to
Movement. be asked to give any expression, or work
 for the propagation, of any religious
 ideas whatever. The Labour Movement as such ought to remain a purely economic, social and political movement. But what we ought in this Conference to endeavour to do is to try to appeal to the individuals and the groups of individuals that make the movement, individuals in the different countries, and belonging not only to the Labour Movement, but to all good movements in the world that

work for the realisation of a higher humanity. This Conference ought to set itself to try to find

Appeal to Individuals. out in every land individuals in any movements, individuals who hunger and thirst after righteousness, or perhaps,

if you like, individuals who only say they seek to realise the transcendental principles of morality. The individuals in the different countries ought to be asked to help in their own ways of life, in their own movements, and according to their own personal convictions, and in their own peculiar ways to bring about, as it was stated in a so-called "humanistic manifesto" which was issued in Sweden some time ago and signed by one hundred and forty-three persons representing the most different opinions and walks of life, to bring about, as it was stated in that manifesto, a new policy on the foundation of the old truths. In such an appeal, that should be made in one way or other from this Conference, a reference should be made to

the immense moral dangers of human life
Points of Appeal. in the world at the present time.

References should also be made to the exceptionally difficult tasks which lie before every movement and every individual that wishes to work for a higher humanity, and to the supreme need of strong personalities who only will be able to perform the great task to be done. On account of this danger, these difficulties, and this need of personalities, the appeal ought to ask all good men in different countries to make the teachings of Jesus Christ again the subject of earnest thought and meditation, of earnest discussion and propaganda. Such an appeal might prove to be the first step towards some kind of co-operative international action

The First Step— in the future, an international action the
No More. social embodiment of which we have not yet been able to state. The result of

what I have said would be that I am not able to advocate the organisation of any definite body or international society as suggested. The movement for which this Conference stands is a new one still, and we must guard ourselves to some extent. Otherwise we might cause serious prejudices to arise against this young movement at its

very start. The only thing that ought to be done in this Conference would be to appoint a committee, a preparatory committee, which could deal with these questions and take steps which are considered to be necessary. The

first thing such a committee should do is

Four Tasks for to make an outline of such an appeal as
Continuation I have suggested, and submit this appeal
Committee. to the approval of some of the leaders

in the different religious and humanitarian and social movements in different countries, and have their signatures to this appeal. Such an appeal would, I am sure, carry weight already as such. Then a second suggestion. Perhaps an international periodical could be started, to be a kind of common platform for discussion of these matters and for practical suggestions to be made for the future. I have a third suggestion. Such international conferences as this could perhaps be organised, say every two years, in different countries. My last point is that the other countries on the Continent are not so fortunate as Great Britain, to have already organised social embodiments for the kind of work this conference deals with. You have here the Brotherhood Movement, the Adult School Movement, and many other movements. On the Continent all these movements are either totally lacking or are very weak beginnings. Now we from the Continent should like to appeal to these Christian social organisations, and I especially think of the crusades of the Brotherhood Movement, which unhappily have been interrupted by the War. These crusades should be taken up again. And one of the next crusades should be made to some of the northern countries. It should be carefully prepared and representatives should be called from all the northern countries to the crusade meetings. I hope this would result in many good things.

W. H. EASTMAN.

I want to thank you for the great treat which you have allowed me to participate in, in attending the series of conferences this week. It has been a pleasure and a real education to me, and I shall go back to my life in the slums of Hull with an inspiration that I have gathered

here. I shall try to share amongst my neighbours the inspiration that I have gained through this series of conferences. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the treat you have given me. And here I want to say how pleased I am that we talk of the Labour Movement and not of the Labour Party. The Labour Movement cannot be confined to any Party. It is as broad as humanity, and I am pleased that we have made a difference between the two.

I think this religion explicit in the Labour Movement can find its best embodiment in everybody practising what they profess to believe in every detail of life, whether as Members of Parliament, members of City or County Councils, or members of Boards of Guardians. May I say that I am trying to preach what I practise? As I told you

**A Transcript
from Life.**

on Tuesday, I was brought up in the workhouse, and the moral and social system of workhouse life in those days entered my soul, whilst the social conditions would have made me an Anarchist, anxious to throw bombs and bring death and destruction all round. But the Methodists got hold of me and tried to make a man of me, and I believe the Methodists won! During my twenty-six years' membership of the Board of the workhouse in which I was an inmate, I have always tried in my dealings with the poor to see the applicant, not as a mere person who is applying for assistance, but to recognise in that person Him Who was born in another man's stable, Who was fed at another man's table, Who was buried in another man's grave, and I have tried in every instance with regard to child life and indoor and outdoor relief to recognise that they were my brothers and sisters, and I was responsible for them, and the measure that I meted out to them would be measured out to me again by Him Who said, "Inasmuch as you have done it to them, you have done it unto Me."

In my early manhood there were three friends. Our people used to call us the Three Obadiah's, because you never saw one without the other two.

Three Friends. We each of us definitely decided upon what line of action we would spend our

lives in. One of the three decided to enter the dramatic profession. His name was Brandon Thomas, and he went into it and wrote a play that perhaps some of you have seen acted, called "Charley's Aunt." Brandon Thomas made money. But I know something about the inner life of Brandon Thomas, and I know the regrets that he had right to his dying day, that he did not choose a better and a higher sphere of life. Though, I believe, he did clean and good work. The second decided to enter upon political life. He made a star in political life. But he came down because he had no foundation, no sure rock upon which to build. And it was my great regret to stand by his bedside, as a Guardian in our workhouse. I pointed him to the love of God which taketh away the sins of the world. He said, "Bill, Karl Marx, Stuart Mill and all these are very little use to me now." Nothing but the fundamental truths, nothing but the Rock of Ages, was anything worth to that man as he died in our workhouse hospital.

It is my firm conviction that the religion inherent in Labour will find an embodiment, whatever are the obstacles. I have had a tinge of regret in feeling that there was a little bit of pessimism in our Conference, that some-

He, not We. how or other we were giving some indication of the fact that if we did not do something the world would be damned.

The Lord can work His will whether we fail or not, and the only result will be that if we fail not we shall be able to enter into His joy and share with Him the palm of victory. God will still live and will accomplish His will with regard to the destiny of the human race. I know that too optimistic a view might lead to indifference and inaction, and make people say, If it is God's will I need not do anything. We must guard between the two extremes of pessimism and optimism, and determine, as far as we can, in whatever sphere of life God calls us, we will put into practice what we profess to believe.

RICHARD WESTROPE.

I just want to give a historical parallel and come down to matter of fact. There is a danger that both the Adult

School and the Brotherhood Movement will not be prepared to tackle definite problems. The world, our old civilisation, a particular order, has come to an end in the crash of the War. A new world is trying to get itself born. In the 13th century civilisation at that time was intent on destroying itself. Internecine wars filled the world.

And the Little Poor Man of Assisi
The Franciscan founded a society of mendicant brothers
Tertiaries. basing themselves on absolute poverty.

They spread all over Europe, so that everybody wanted to join the Order. And St. Francis said, "No, I don't want you to leave your occupations"; and some of them said, "We can't leave our occupations"—kings, queens, dukes, all sorts of people. "Give us an Order, a Third Order for men and women living in the world who want to live the life of brotherhood and goodwill and kindness." And Bishop Creighton says that Brother Francis' Third Order of Penitents, that Third Order for men and women living in the world, saved civilisation in Europe in the 13th century. And Creighton was no mean historian.

How did they save it? Amongst the rules for all who joined that Third Order was this: "No fighting between brothers." This baron must not fight that baron. That town must not fight the other town. Here is my suggestion. Here is the Adult School, and the Brotherhood, and these other societies. The only hope for civilisation,

I venture to say, is the abolition by the
Abolish people themselves of military conscrip-
Conscription 1 tion. Why not? A dozen men and women banded together at this conference, a league of faith and hope and prayer, prepared to go to every country in Europe, conscript or not, where danger was. We live by love, by hope, by sacrifice. Never mind whether you can find "The Lost Chord" or not. Or whether you can hear on Sunday afternoon "The Holy City" or look for "The Star of Bethlehem." Here, when civilisation is lying about us in ruins, surely if we want a social embodiment it is in the principle that men who are brothers shall refuse to fight one another. I believe that movement will spread all over the world, and I

do not think any better outcome or social embodiment of this Conference could be than that we here at any rate, representing various societies and interests, are dead against military conscription. I hope that that will be received.

REV. J. T. BROWN, of Hull.

I think that what we are out for, although we have been putting it under different labels during the last week, is for the spiritualisation of the community and of the individual. What needs attention is not the material side of life so much as the spiritual. This does not mean ceasing our efforts for higher wages, for such reforms as benefit men's bodies, but it is hard to find a word unless I call it education. I was just asking a friend to define education, and he is out for the same thing that I am out for. By education we mean everything that makes people more spiritual. Looking at it from that standpoint, we must have education first in all our plans.

And when we carry our social reforms, we shall adopt such means of building up and preserving men's bodies as will also refine their natures and deepen the spiritual side of their lives. For instance, we are realising that the working-class housewife does not need simply a house in which to live, but a house that is going to inspire her in her work and uplift her in all that she is going to do. The wage-earner does not need simply a wage, although it is very useful, but an occupation that is an art and that is a pleasure. And the wage must help towards the development of that ideal. The hungry child does not need simply a free dinner. I go sometimes in the winter and see our children being fed, and am ashamed as I watch them. For the conditions under which they have their meals are often not fit for a human being. It does not need simply a free meal, but a meal under sufficing conditions. I think it was Graham Wallas who said, forty years ago, that we would spend on education, if we were wise, not only more than any other generation has ever spent before, but more than any other generation would ever need to spend. It would fill the school buildings

Education the Chief Need.

Every Child Trained as a Nobleman.

with the means not only of comfort but of higher luxury. It would serve associated meals on tables spread with flowers, in halls surrounded with beautiful pictures, or even, as John Milton proposed long ago, filled with the sound of music. It would propose to itself the ideal of Ibsen, that every child should be brought up as a nobleman. But this generation is not very wise. The workers

Outlets

for Energy.

need not reckless doles of pay or leisure, but a vast array of such outlets for their energy as will give them not fleeting pleasures, but that which we call happiness, which will give them life, full, complete, perfect. We ought to go on with this ideal and take this test of every reform and every movement: Does it educate in this sense? Does it spiritualise? If it does it is good. If it does not, it is diabolical. Every item of social betterment can be made a spiritual force. No social betterment betters anything that does not ultimately better the human being in

The

Spiritualising of all Life.

its inmost self. Therefore I feel we have got in some way, as we have been doing the last day or two, to get rid of all our labels and strive from the standpoint of the spiritualising of life in every direction. Those of us who are out for that purpose must drop our various sectional interests and go out for the one ideal, combining ourselves and fighting with heart and soul and life for its fulfilment.

F. A. JARMAN.

I feel this morning, after all we have been listening to, we are of one mind. We come back to the words of Christ, "Without Me ye can do nothing." Whether it be a national body, or an international body, we have got to come back to the Carpenter of Nazareth. I do not know who the writer of the Hebrews was. I am not concerned. But I think there is a great lesson for us all from that wonderful

The Evidence of Things not Seen.

eleventh chapter, and I believe the first verse, where he says, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen." And to me

this Conference is the evidence of things that are going to be done in the future, that are not seen by us, as we speak of seeing things. What I want to see more and more is that we do not whittle down our Christianity to suit either commercial interests or military interests. To me the Sermon on the Mount and the teachings of Jesus are sound for all time. And I shall go away from this Conference happy in the thought that I have met comrades here who may not agree with me on everything, or I with them, but agreed on one thing, the main thing, the fundamental. I am working in Somerset, where many years ago dear old Joseph Arch worked in many of the towns. When Joseph Arch was in

**Little Bands
of Brothers.**

Somerset on one occasion he said to a friend of mine, the day would come when the branches of the agricultural labourers' union to be formed in the villages would be little bands of brothers. And it is perfectly true. What I want to say chiefly concerning the farm labourer is this, that the best secretaries I have got of branches are those who are following the Light, and many of them are local preachers. The farm labourers of Somerset appreciate the value of life—I suppose because they live so near the things of God, not the artificial things that those live by who live in the towns. You know the condition these poor men live under, on 10s., 11s. or 12s. a week. When I have told them they were going to get a rise they have cheered; but I have told them that is not the first and the last of Trade Unionism. If so, I should leave it to-morrow. When I have told them it stands for something bigger than that, and spoken to them of the things Jesus taught,

**The Biggest
Cheer.**

I think I have got the biggest cheer—a bigger cheer than when I told them they were going to get 5s. a week more—and they wanted it, God knows! I am happy to say that my experience is, with regard to the farm labourer, that he is going to be the greatest asset to the Brotherhood Movement in this country. I am sure we all praise God for the great work that Joseph Arch did. I sometimes say that the success of our Union owes itself

to the fact that the founder of it believed in the Founder of our Faith. I think I shall go away from this Conference holding always for all time the knowledge of the Light by which we are going to lead men and women to the right way.

R. THOMSON.

I look upon Christian Socialism as the social aspect of the Christian religion, the aspect of it which concerns the world that now is. The other aspect of it, of course, concerns the world that is to come. It seems to me an undoubted fact that Christian Socialism, which is the social aspect of the Christian religion, is implicit in the Labour Movement, and the only way in which that social aspect of the Christian religion can ever become explicit is by the establishment of Christian Socialism.

THURSDAY EVENING SEPT. 4TH.

The public meeting was opened with the following address from the Chairman:—

Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON,
on Democracy and Christianity.

May I express the unqualified pleasure it gives me to be once more associated with these important conferences in connection with Labour and Religion? I think Mr. Stead would agree that I was associated with him from the earliest moments of the opening of the first campaign on these lines, and I remember with much satisfaction the interesting gatherings we have had in days gone by.

It was a greater pleasure to be associated with them this year because we gave the conferences what I might describe as an international turn.

Direct Action Perhaps you would permit me to say
Turned Down. that I have heard with considerable satisfaction, and I believe most of you present will share in that satisfaction, that the Triple Alliance Conference has with striking unanimity decided to-day against a policy of direct action for purely political purposes. In my judgment this is both quite wise and a commendable decision. I think it will be almost universally approved by the thoughtful amongst the organised workers. I said for purely political purposes. For I do not admit that the organised workers can entirely forgo the weapon of direct action. However much I regret that circumstances sometimes compel the workers to have resort to this weapon of the strike, I am

The Weapon afraid that until society is much better
of the Strike. organised than it is at present, until those whom we describe as the possessing classes, or the employers, the governing classes if you like, are prepared to abandon the use of their economic weapons, and to be more prepared to meet the just claims of the workers without, as they sometimes do, seeking to

destroy the workers' organisation or seeking to discredit the workmen's leaders and subject them to the most wilful and unscrupulous misrepresentation, then the organised workers must retain this weapon of the right to strike. But, my friends, making that admission is somewhat different from the mistaken policy adopted by some in our movement who would like to use this weapon on all occasions and for every purpose. It seems to me that we are exposed to one danger at this moment in connection with the organised Labour and Socialist Movement. That is, we are too ready to emulate the policy

Methods Alien to adopted in other countries without hav-
Free Countries. ing sufficient regard as to whether it is necessary in a country like ours, to adopt exactly the same methods that may be necessary in another country not so constituted. That, I am convinced, is one of our present-day dangers. To introduce such methods, without regard to the circumstances, to introduce methods that may be necessary in the world of industry into the field of politics, is a step that ought not to be lightly taken, or without the most careful consideration of all the possible consequences. By doing so, the organised workers may not only be acting inimically to the interests of the nation, but they may be acting inimically to their own interests as workers.

May I point out that when Labour has come to political power, when the organised workers have taken hold of the machinery of government, as they

A Labour Govern- may presently be called upon to do,
ment Faced with what, I ask, will be our position? Are
Direct Action! we prepared to allow a minority in op-

position to Labour's programme of social and economic betterment to defeat that policy and programme by unconstitutional methods? If I know anything of organised labour, it compels me to say this, that a Labour Government would fight to the very last ditch against any policy of direct action by any minority, by whatever name it might care to call itself. Therefore, we ought not to set a bad example. We ought not to take the responsibility for adopting a policy of direct action against a government whose policy we may strongly op-

pose. Rather should we set our faces firmly against any attempt to substitute such a method for the orderly, peaceable procedure of our parliamentary constitution. And therefore I again express my great satisfaction that the leaders of the great organisations joined together in what we know as the Triple Alliance, have seen fit, with such striking unanimity, as I have already said, to set aside that policy, and (may I say?) to trust to the policy which I myself during the last ten days have been endeavouring to put into operation in one of the constituencies in this country. I am delighted with the decision, for it appears to me that it would permit the forces of Labour and Socialism to concentrate their constructive capacity on the tasks, important tasks as they are, which lie immediately before us.

What, may I ask, are these important tasks? In my judgment, nothing short of the abolition of the present political and economic system, which

To Abolish the Present System. rests upon private ownership, and the control of the machinery of government and industry by what are known as the

possessing classes. Great and far-reaching changes are absolutely essential, in the interests of the future well-being of this country. May I not emphasise the fact that delays are dangerous? Men and women everywhere are feeling the impact of change. The inadequacy and inequalities of social and economic life have during the past five years been thrust into the clearer light of day. Problems which confronted us in pre-war days have been intensified, and some of these great problems demand serious and urgent attention. The experiences throughout the

Pace Quickened by the War. War have bitten deeply into the consciousness of the community, producing modifications of outlook and changes in thought and temper which cannot fail

profoundly to influence the future of this nation. And so it appears to me that, given a full recognition of duties and responsibilities as well as rights, not on the part of one section of the community but on the part of all classes in the community, there should open out an era of immense possibilities; for of all things the most incredible is that the

future, after such a war, should be no better than the past.

I believe we are on the threshold of a new era. We are witnessing a great resurgence of democratic feeling and sentiment throughout the world. The

A New Spirit Abroad.

workers in all countries are evincing a more thoughtful interest in national and international affairs. This is more in consonance with their personal and collective interest and responsibilities. For real democracy is not merely a new political force, so much as a new spirit. It does not mean merely political equality or social justice, civil rights and representative institutions, together with individual freedom and collective responsibility; though, let me emphasise, it stands for all of these. Democracy is a new spirit working in humanity, a new consciousness, and a new vision, which envisages a new world and which seeks to

Two Most Vital Forces.

build international relations on the unchanging moral principles of justice and right. It is in this new consciousness that there lies the real hope of a better future for our common humanity. These great human principles must ever be the spiritual basis of any true democracy. It is here we find a connecting link between Labour and Religion. It is no exaggeration to say, with this new spirit in operation, the two most vital forces in the re-making of the world would be a Christianised democracy and a democratised Christianity.

True democracy recognises international implications, and conceives humanity as a great human brotherhood.

It denounces the ancient and discredited doctrine that he shall take that hath the power, and he shall keep that can. Democracy seeks to supersede this immoral doctrine by a new standard of international morality, a standard which recognises and enforces the right of all people to a share in God's gift of life, of freedom, and of happiness. The welfare of humanity and faith in the spiritual and social brotherhood of man are the lodestars upon which true democracy has its eyes always fixed. It claims for all, irrespective of race, colour, class, or creed, an opportunity of living a full and a free life, to live as God intended us to live, and not as chance or as a demoralising environment

may decree. Democracy claims to substitute in international relationships reason for force, and an international co-operation and goodwill for illegitimate competition, national rivalry, and hatred. We must agree with Kingsley that competition means death, that co-operation means life, that the competitive principle destroys character and gives a denial to human brotherhood.

Then democracy realises that the ends and aspirations of the workers everywhere are fundamentally the same,

and that therefore the task of reconstruction should be considered from the human, and not from the sectional or class, or even, strictly and narrowly, from the national point of view.

I have spoken up till now only of a true democracy in the collective sense. I desire to say a single word on the quality of the individual which must

The Kind of Individual Needed. necessarily and essentially constitute the democratic army. In my opinion, the supreme need for the great task lying in

front of democracy is to combine together all right-thinking men and women. What we need is morally-minded men and women. Lecky, the historian, has reminded us that the essential qualities of national greatness are moral, not material. Does not experience teach us that where self-interest is predominant the ideal can never dominate? Democracy needs men and women possessing deep spiritual insight, and clear vision, fired by high moral enthusiasm. No matter how far we go, it still remains true, as Bushnell said long ago, "The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul." Society to-day requires more than ever men and women who are prepared to stand foursquare by their deepest conviction, display their consciousness of personal responsibility, and inspired at all times and under all circumstances with a passion for that which is good and true. We may depend upon it that the influence of democracy in this or any other

country will expand only as the life of each individual comprising the democratic armies is raised to the highest moral standard, when we each bring our life into harmony with the Good Will,

and live in daily companionship with the Divine Democrat. Then will democracy become omnipotent. Men and women with the compassion of Christ, with great moral strength, with an unquenchable faith, are needed if the democratic forces are going to reconstruct society on the permanent basis of universal brotherhood.

These are the reasons why I welcome any association of Labour and Religion. Once we could secure the unification of these two great forces, nationally and internationally, once the members of the democratic army attain this moral altitude that I have put before you, then I am convinced we will be getting on the way to establish that social and economic justice upon which the multitudes of the wage-earning classes have set their hearts.

The Choice before the World,

BY

C. NORLEV.

When we hold this Conference and discuss the subject of Labour Movement and Religion, it is because we are convinced that Religion is necessary for the success of the Labour Movement—
The One Thing yes, more than that, necessary for social
Needful. reform, for international peace, for the
progress of humanity. Religion, say some people, that is too old—it is not necessary to us. I am sure it is necessary, and I shall try to tell you why.

Materialism means that men consider material things as the only real things and real values in this world; consequently they must consider material

Materialism. power as the only real power in the world. Now we all need material things and we all desire to possess things valuable for our life. Materialists consequently must think that material things are the only things of value to

Mammonism. gain and possess. Material things are the things we can get by money, consequently a materialist must endeavour to get plenty of money. He consequently must be a mammonist. And,

further, materialists consider material power is the only power in this world. It is the material power which forms the order of justice. There is no other power of justice, no responsibility for other powers than the material power.

Militarism. Materialists must so think, if they think consequently, and it seems to me that such a point of view naturally leads to militarism or Bolshevism—as the opportunity occurs—leads men to consider the power of rifles and guns, the power of arms, as the only power valuable to possess. And if possessing this power why not use it? There is no other hindrance than the material power of other men, but if I am strong enough to overcome them, why not oppress them? Nobody will make me responsible for that.

So it appears to me that materialism consequently leads to a militaristic philosophy and to militarism itself.

On the other hand, if, for instance, a man really believes in the Kingdom of God as the greatest and most important reality in this universe, if he really believes that his fate in life at last is determined by how he stands to the Kingdom of God, then this faith must

The Kingdom of God. produce in him the very opposite effect. Then justice and brotherhood will be things of more real value than money; then he will feel responsibility to God, the Creator, who has put him into this world to work for His Kingdom; then he will believe that material power

The True Basis of Morality. is not the only power and not the real power, even in this world; he will know that men only possess power if they are in alliance with God, in alliance with justice and brotherhood. It seems to me that this point of view gives the strongest imaginable base for a lofty morality.

I am sure that materialism in the long run will quite destroy the power of morality, because morality always will break down if it lacks an appropriate religious base. I, for my part, am quite sure that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, of the Kingdom of God, of Brotherhood, and justice, is just the appropriate religious base we need.

But, surely, it is not enough that a religion is appro-

priate to our purpose. At last the question will be: Is it the truth, is there a reality behind? Illu-

But is it True? sions can be of great effect, but in the long run they always manifest themselves as delusions, and people turn away from them. I am sure that the Kingdom of God is the real truth concerning the goal of human life. I am sure that everybody who will subject himself to this religion and try to

The Test. carry it out will experience that it is the truth. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself."

Science tells us that this earth and all life on it is a result of evolution, and we are told that evolution still is going on; but science cannot tell us any-

The Goal of Evolution. thing about the ultimate aim of the evolution—it simply does not know. That question can only be answered by

religion. Science tells us that the evolution is going on from the lower to the higher, but what is the highest stage evolution can reach? I am not able to imagine any more appropriate answer to the question science raises about evolution than the answer of Christianity: the realisation of the Kingdom of God.

We need religion, we need Christianity, to get moral power. Some people say: What is that?

Moral Power. I shall try to illustrate what it is.

It is said that in ancient times there was a republic in Persia, and this republic was governed in a very good manner by a council called the Wise Council. One year there fell no rain in

The Persian Wise Council. Persia, and everybody could see there would be a bad harvest. At that time, as at the present time, there were people

who were thinking of nothing else than profit. Now there would be an opportunity for profit making by buying in the supplies of food and selling them with great profit. That was quite as in the present time. You see, profiteers are a very old family. The Wise Council then deliberated how to avoid this danger; and they passed a law, very short, very intelligible, but of very great effect. The law

said: Every time a poor man dies from starvation, a rich man has to be hanged. That is a very short law, you see. But the story goes on to say that no poor man died from starvation!

We, perhaps, need such a law to-day, but I am not quite sure that our Governments are as wise as the old Persians. The point in this story is this, that if we only possess the sense which is expressed in the words, "One for all, and all for one," then will brotherhood be established on earth. This sense is moral power. I do not think we are able to force this sense upon people, but I am sure that it will be the real outcome of Christianity. We need Christianity.

The Labour Movement in Norway to-day,

BY

EINAR LI.

As I understand my task to-night, it is to try to give you a short account of the present position of the Norwegian Labour Movement. The Socialist Movement in England and France differed from that in Germany and the Scandinavian countries in earlier days in one respect. You had here Fabian Socialist, Socialist Democratic Federation (P), Independent Labour Party, Socialist Party of Great Britain, and the Labour Party in Parliament. And in France, it is said, they had as many Socialist parties or groups as prominent Socialist speakers. In our country we had only one party. But this unity does not exist any longer.

As the Socialist Movement was growing a Socialist young man's association was started about twenty years ago. And some of the leaders in this movement were not inclined to leave it bald "youth," they remained in order to use the associa-

tions as political platforms for themselves. And in this way in reality a new party grew up beside the old one. This is particularly the case in Denmark and Sweden, where a left wing, largely joined by members from the young men's associations, has even left the party. In Norway the situation is nearly the opposite, although we have also the Young Man's Socialist Association. I was myself one of the founders of it, and must confess that it has become a great failure, as recent events have developed.

In my country, however, the first fight was not in the rank and file of politics, but in the Trade Union Movement. In the last ten years an opposi-

A Trade Union tion has tried to conquer the Trade
Opposition. Unions for French Syndicalism; or, as

far as I know, what you in England, with your clear thought and exact expression, would call Trade Union Capitalism. In one point only our Trade Union opposition marks a distinction from the syndicalistic theory in France: it would not confess or admit that it was anti-parliamentary. "Direct action," nevertheless, was its main cry. Yet this, in its root anti-parliamentary opposition, did *not* succeed in the Trade Union Movement.

Then happened the most surprising occurrence. After having been beaten at all Trade Union congresses, the anti-parliamentary opposition last year

Anti-Parliamen- suddenly gained the victory in the politi-
tary Victory. cal Labour Party. At the congress of
the Socialist Party in 1918 a majority

voted in favour of greeting Bolshevism in Russia. We had much difficulty in coming to a conclusion as to what was really meant. Somebody said that the principles of the Soviet system were at the same time settled or agreed upon, while other adherents of the resolution only maintained that they had announced their sympathy with the Russian Revolution in the same manner as they would have saluted every revolution in the world. Owing to this confusion, we Social Democrats looked upon the decision as a mere declaration of love, but we resigned all our offices in the leadership of the party. And at the Socialist Congress this year the new leaders advanced some pro-

positions that did not leave any doubt as to the direction they were working along. A pure and simple Bolshevik programme got a great majority behind

Bolshevik Programme Adopted. it. Then the Social Democrats had to organise a Social Democratic opposition, to which I myself belong. And we are now trying to start our own daily paper. But the Bolshevik tyrants are not merciful. They use all means to counteract our work, and claim more and more loudly that we ought to be expelled from the party. We feel ourselves at present not disposed to build a new organisation, because we believe that within a short time we shall capture the old party back again for Social Democracy. If that attempt is impossible, we fear that the influence of the Socialist policy will be lessened for years and years.

Result on the Polls. And we have already seen it. I only give you some figures to show the development of our movement at the polls.

At the general election which we have every three years the Socialist Party obtained the following number of votes :—

Year	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912	1915
Number	7,000	24,000	43,000	90,000	125,000	198,000

It was an immense and a steady increase from time to time, of twenty, thirty, forty, fifty and seventy thousand votes. But after the Bolshevik theory had entered the party we only increased the number of votes by ten thousand, namely, from 198,000 to 208,000.

And why? Oh, it's easily understood! You can't earnestly invite a man to vote for a member of parliament as a Bolshevik candidate, whose first promise is to abolish parliament and do away with himself! Why try to persuade a majority of voters of the need of socialisation or nationalisation, if it is true that it can be obtained by help of small radical minorities, as the French Syndicalists told us, or by the dictatorship of workers, as the Bolsheviks hold out to us? You and I may not like the method, but nevertheless, if it only could succeed, it was perhaps worth trying.

I can *understand* Bolshevism for five reasons: (1) Be-

cause the parliament is not at every time a proper representation of the people; (2) because of **Five Reasons for** the incapacity of parliament in regard **Bolshevism.** to social reforms as well as industrial questions; (3) because five years' war has impressed the mind and therefore also political tactics; (4) because the many difficulties of our time make men desperate; and (5) last but not least, because every new idea meets not only a conservative resistance, but also the enthusiasm of the so-called "radicals," to whose emotions it is easier to speak than to their reasoning faculties.

But to *explain* is not the same as to *agree*. And I insist upon every political man to-day frankly to tell us his opinion, and not hide himself. I have some friends at home who are afraid to lose the confidence of their partisans by confessing the truth or facing the facts

Elastic
Politicians. before them. They are more ready to stretch in order to continue as Labour leaders. To me, at any rate, Karl Marx has given a concise exposition of the Socialist philosophy, winding up with the declaration, "No rights without duties, no duties without rights." These words have not only their application to the community, but to ourselves; that is to say, as individuals we have no *duty* to lead, but the *right* to have our own opinions. We have no *right* to lead, if we don't consider it a *duty* to stick by our real points of view.

I have told you how I look upon the growth of Bolshevism. But I object to Bolshevism for other five reasons, and I believe I am speaking (not on behalf of the official Norwegian Labour Party), but on behalf of the Social Democratic opposition, and even, I feel sure, on behalf of the greater number of Socialists in Norway. (1) First of all, Social Democracy means to me, to establish a Socialist order on a democratic base. Every man a vote, every woman a vote. But as the old political injustice said to a man, "You are too poor to vote," the new Bolshevik idea is that a man can be too rich to have a vote. I don't want a new aristocracy of workers; I wish no supremacy of any class.

(2) Instead of the election of parliament, the Bolsheviks recommend direct action, and that's my second objection. I do believe in "direct action" for certain limited ends. The Trade Unions have had many successful strikes in order to attain shorter hours and higher wages. A *political* strike may also succeed. If the labourers withdraw their labour, they can urge a king to resign or the government to pass a bill. But I don't believe in an *economic* or *social* strike. As far as you mean revolution in another sense, then we generally speak of evolution.

Bolshevism, of course, does not necessarily inculcate violence or murder. In its programme at any rate I find nowhere that people shall kill each other with the greatest cruelty that can be thought of. But as a matter of fact we have seen those manners everywhere. And I arrive at the conclusion that in trying to establish a new economic order of society in a week, or a day, which may be a rather heavy work even to Lenin, there is always the great danger that bad elements—and you have some of them in England, too, and even in London—will go on robbing, plundering, rifling. And what's the result? The first thing the Bolsheviks must do is to form red guards. And then you have civil war at once.

And (3) here is my third objection—a moral one. As a Social Democrat I'll try to convince people that Socialism is the best form of society. I'll try to speak to their conscience as Christians, and get them to vote for Socialism. But I will not threaten them to do so with weapons in my hands. Please imagine *armed Socialists*! It sounds funny to me! I have been imprisoned for a year and a half because I refused to do military service. And I never support militarism of any colour—red or white.

(4) A new economic system grows slowly—it must grow in the same way as the co-operative movement. And I believe more than in anything else, in Socialism on a co-operative basis, because the power is in the hands of the *consumers*. My fourth objection is that the Soviet system gives the power over production to the *producers*. Trade Unions should not in my opinion carry on production. It sounds good that the carpenters, bakers, shoemakers, etc., shall take control of their own industry in order to abolish

exploitation. But they in turn will exploit the consumers. What would you say if the teachers one day came and said, "We will manage the schools, settle the wages and the hours to work." As a father I surely should answer, "No, thank you! I wish that all parents shall have influence on the teaching through the municipal government or school board." The leading part played by the consumers is not recognised in economic life or science.

And (5) it may be a general complaint that economic problems as a whole are not sufficiently discussed. The general voters—men and women—of all classes and political parties, have not knowledge enough in social questions. With this lack of economic training we are a prey to the *first*—or let me rather say to the *last*—new fashion.

But the world of man's convictions and man's conscience is not like a milliner's trade. We don't want dandy-politicians or dress-dolls as Labour leaders. But this is my fifth and last objection to the Bolshevik air raid—**Shepherds that are Sheep!** that the Socialists who run away from their social democratic opinions seem too—what image shall I use?—too sheepish! The flock, you know, always follows the one sheep with the bell around its neck. Otherwise, how shall I explain the Socialist Press in my own country, for instance? We have twelve daily Socialist papers, and about twenty other papers, the publication of which varies from twice to thrice and four times a week. All editors are convinced Social Democrats one day, and the next morning they have become, all but one, Bolsheviks! It seems that the shepherds themselves imitate the sheep.

But because the desertion in my eyes, at any rate, is unsound, unhealthy, or artificial, I am myself convinced that Bolshevism will go out of fashion just as quickly as it has been brought into fashion. The fight between Social Democrats and Bolsheviks is to me the same as between Karl Marx and Bakunin, the Russian anarchist. In the days of these leaders Socialism gained victory over anarchism, and as in the past, so, I believe, in the future.

The last information I got the day I left home was that the Trade Unions of Norway had adopted the proposal of Government to join a commission in order to examine how to increase production—the same problem that occupies you in this country. And that decision does not seem to tend towards anarchy, or destructive disorder, but to a constructive Socialist order. This order we have been discussing in this hall all the week—an order built on “Brotherhood in Man and Fatherhood in God,” or on service to society. We never forget that a better society requires better men. And Labour and Religion stand together for the improvement of mankind.

The Situation in Belgium,

BY

SENATOR VINCK.

I come from a country where we have been able to appreciate what is morality. We have been able to appreciate what is treason to signature. So we are surely capable of appreciating the ethical, the moral and the religious side of any movement: and as I am myself a member of the Social Democratic Party called *Partie Ouvrière*, I am surely capable of appreciating the ethical, or if you like, the religious, side of the Labour Movement. I should like to point out in a few words—and you will find it far better in the speech given here by our leader, Emile Vandervelde, four years ago, and a French Labour leader who occupies nearly the same position as we are taking in Belgium—how our position is difficult on these religious questions. Your country has not lived through our history. On the contrary, you have received the best elements of our country when they were compelled to go out of their country to find the liberty of their spirit and of their soul. Your industry itself has received from our industry, Flemish industry, the greatest, the best elements, to establish your

Midlands, Lancashire and other industries during the past centuries. And again this great commotion has surely changed much the spirit in our country. We are living in quite other circumstances than those you are living in here. As Vandervelde and Longuet told us, our Socialist Party has as its greatest enemy in all social reforms—it is dreadful to say it—those who say they speak in the Name of Christ. We say *we* are the Christians in Belgium. We have that pretension, although we are not churchpeople. We could not be. It is an impossibility. Therefore I tell all those courageous men who have endeavoured to organise this Conference, and who should like to make it an international movement, you must take care that your formulas, the expressions you are giving to your ends, make it possible that we join your movement. I told them we have the pretension to be as religious as you are. But we must translate it in another language. The Socialist Party in Belgium, you know what it is.

The Belgian Socialists.

It is a very strong movement. It is a very complete movement. And it is a completely unified movement. Our co-operators are Socialists. Our Socialists are co-operators. Our mutual movement, the Friendly Societies' Movement, is a Socialist movement. Our Labour political movement is a Socialist movement. We have in Brussels, we have in Ghent, we have in Charleroi, we have in Liège, we have in a hundred towns and villages, People's Houses (*Maisons du Peuple*), and in this *Maison du Peuple* we are not only busy with economic questions, not only with the material side of our problem. We have I daresay all the different sides of social life, and at the top, as a symbol, we have the educational rooms, where we are teaching all that has to be taught to the labouring classes. But I must avow that we have been more busy with the material side of the question than with the ethical side till now. That was a question of necessity. We had to struggle against very bad conditions of labour, worse than in England—not worse than they were in 1832 or 1846, but worse than they are now. And when I come back, where are those conditions the worst? In the Flemish part of Belgium. Those conditions are the worst in the Catholic part of Belgium,

where before the War in 1914 the family father was earning two shillings a day and had a very blest family of twenty children! And in that country there were some courageous vicars belonging to a small party called the Christian Socialist Party. They were compelled all to go out of the Church and to cease their propaganda. The mother and the brother of one priest who would not give up his propaganda were persecuted, just as if we had been living under Philip II. I knew him, he was a friend of us, we protected him as much as we could. We had the greatest respect for his belief. He himself died nearly from starvation. That is the truth. You can understand that I have no reason to come here and say what is not the truth. It would be a very bad beginning for an ethical movement. But you understand our conditions, and how difficult it is to introduce some names. Well, we are human beings. Surely we have good ground for thinking that names should not be something to be afraid of. But it is so. So I ask these gentlemen to find a universal formula for the expression of this ethical movement.

A Comprehensive Formula Needed. We understand, and you all, that we are at a turning-point, at a great turning-point in the Labour Movement. Whatever be the divisions between us, the Labour Movement will grow, the Labour Movement must succeed. Although there might be great difficulties, I am a great optimist, as the Belgians have always been—those who had the heart in the right place. But with this necessary success, and sure success, are coming great responsibilities for us, and they are beginning now. We are no longer a party of the Ascendant, opposition. Not that we have chosen it, but we have not so much to maintain a negative attitude. We have positive responsibilities. We have now to build the new society, and we have to be good shepherds. Therefore we have to think of those ethical problems, those moral problems, those religious implicates in the Labour Movement, and I am very glad to give all my support to the endeavour that is made here; and I am sure that when they will have understood the reason of

your action, all the Belgian labourers and workers will be with you. As long as it was dangerous

Dangers of Success. to be a Labour man, it was not so necessary to think of ethical problems.

The necessary sacrifice bore in itself its religious implicate. But we are going on to success. I myself am a member of the Second House. I am not a lord. If I was born a lord I would not be a Socialist! But we see what, in this success? We receive every day letters and visits from people we had never seen before, who say they were Socialists from a long time ago—surely before we were! Probably they were born Socialists! Well, that is a great danger for our movement, a great danger, because those people are in their mind purely materialistic, with purely utilitarian aims and ends. Therefore we have to put forward the ethical side of our movement, the religious side of our movement. And I think that if this Conference goes through the world, the Labour units in all the different Labour Movements will unite in a creed of ethical preoccupation. But as I told you, this

Tolerance Needed. movement must be essentially tolerant as regards religious belief. Otherwise it is at an end. It should be international. We must not divide the Labour

world into different religious creeds. That would be dangerous. There are sufficient points where we can all agree in finding a universal formula. And I will say with Christ, "Peace to all men of goodwill on the earth."

Well, then, we have begun that struggle. We have finished a great struggle. We have finished the greatest struggle that mankind ever has known. If it were begun again, we Belgians would do exactly the same. All of us—fathers who lost a child, women who lost their husbands, brides who lost their fiancés—they would say exactly as I tell you. It is perhaps to say rather much, but we are almost happy that the Germans made the mistake of passing through Belgium; because that was the loss of their power. It has shown how far the mistake can go of a kultur that is not based on ethical rules. A collectivity, no more than an individual, can say, "I am above the rules of morality." Well, that reminds me that I

was in 1892 a student in Berlin, where I followed the lectures of Von Treitschke, one of those

What Poisoned Germany. Neo-Machiavellists, those professors who, with a horrible sense of reality,

dropped slowly into the teaching of the whole of Germany the poison that the only object of our actions should be success, and that if you are successful you had the right to do what you were doing. That is exactly the doctrine of the prince in the books of Machiavelli. That ought not to be possible, because if that is possible between collectivities, why should it not be possible between individuals? And if it would be possible between individuals, there would be no difference between us and animals. Well, now, we hope sincerely that the German world will change. We hope this kultur will change. But we fear with Goethe that it will take a long time. It took perhaps a long time to make, but we know how it was made. It was made by bad teaching. Therefore it should be changed by good

**Hamburg
Teachers
Repentant.**

teaching. And I had the great pleasure some days ago to read that some Hamburg teachers had issued a paper where they said, "Now we have to build a new world. We were mistaken; we were wrong. We have to construct ourselves a new Germany, based on ethical rules." Well, if that can be done, and I hope it can be done, and we should all help such efforts, then we shall at last realise what the French Revolution put on its banner: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Those notions I agree were theoretical. Some of them were purely juridical. But slowly we are going towards it. Liberty in some aspects is nearly complete. Equality is better understood now than it was formerly. It should be not a theoretical or abstract notion. And I hope that this fraternity which we speak of will be in the near future a real fact.

Finland: Its Perils and Opportunities,

BY

SIGFRID SIRENIUS.

Being myself a worker of a free and non-party organisation, I should have been very glad if the Finnish Labour Movement could have been represented at this Conference. An invitation to that effect was extended by my friend Mr. Stead to one of our Social Democratic leaders, Mr. Tanner, who is the chairman of the head committee of the party, if my memory serves me right. But Mr. Tanner unfortunately was prevented from coming. So

Message from the was also the other Social Democratic **Social Democracy** leader, Mr. Keto, who had been asked by Mr. Tanner to come here as a Finnish delegate for the party. In a letter which reached me on my arrival in London, Mr. Tanner sends the following message: "I ask you to convey to Mr. Stead my gratitude for his consideration shown to my party, and in especial to myself, and to express to him my regret for our having been unable to benefit by his kind invitation." This is the message of Mr. Tanner.

In this summer I had a very frank and open conversation with one of our most prominent Social Democratic leaders on the very questions which occupy this Conference, and which occupy myself in the work I have to do in our industrial centres. The case was in that conversation stated with great openness on both sides. He, my Social Democratic friend, expressed the opinion that there were still in the working classes some remains of religion, owing to their education from childhood in, as he said, "catechism-creeds," but that these remains were going to disappear with the growing knowledge and enlightenment. "Maybe," I remarked, "but what would you say if I, with all respect, should pretend to

Who Know the know the working people in Finland
Workers Best? from this particular side better than the
very Labour leaders in our country?"
And then I referred to some striking instances from the

observations that I had made during the years of my work in many of our great industrial centres. Some of these I have visited several times on a kind of Labour Week tours. In other centres—as the case was in the last summer, almost immediately after the Red Revolt—I had been working for some months continuously. These experiences were intended to show my Social Democratic friend that the old “catechism-creed” of love to God and love to man seemed to have, after all, a wonderful attraction for thousands and thousands of our industrial workers, even with a good many of them who in their mind had turned away from the Church. My Social Democratic friend looked at me very earnestly, and then he said, “It may be that you know better this side of our working people than we do, for it is true, we never talk about these matters with our people. But one thing I say to you,” he continued, “it is a hard job you have undertaken to do.” Of course I did not for a moment deny the truth of this statement of his. But is it not so, that the hard jobs will also have to be done? It seemed to me that my Social Democratic friend felt still more astonished when I told him that we were going to found a Settlement in this autumn in the very heart of the working people’s quarters in our capital of Helsingfors. He expressed his interest in our work. But when I took leave of him and he thanked me very kindly for my visit, he added once more, fixing me with his eyes, “You have indeed a hard job to do.”

May I suggest a little more about the religious situation among the working class in Finland? You are aware that the Continental Social Democracy has had a great deal to say about religion, and you know that in many countries, not least in Finland, the attitude of Social Democracy towards Christianity has been anything but friendly. When one reflects on this fact, one would almost imagine that religion had lost its influence upon the minds of those who have found their ideals in the Labour Movement. When I commenced my work after Mr. Stead’s visit to Finland, I really thought this was the case, and therefore I took up the work with great fears and a tremb-

ling heart. But then I have found again and again that religion has not died in the hearts of these people. When we are organising our distinctly Christian courses of lectures, everywhere the halls are filled evening after evening. It has occurred

**Religious
Response from
the Workers.**

more than once that the local Social Democratic associations have invited us to come and give our addresses at their own houses, and have even let their brass bands provide the meetings with religious music. When we are arranging public discussions upon the most actual and pressing questions of religion and life, then of course the storm of criticism and even bitterness, sometimes hostility, is raging over our heads, as all the Social Democrats do not like parsons and pastors. But sometimes it happens that the Social Democrats themselves stand up to defend our sincerity against the attacks made. The literature which we have on sale at the meetings has had a good circulation. Sometimes it happens that a young Social Democrat wishes to have a quiet talk upon the great problems which are troubling his mind. Sometimes again all the opposition dies down when the whole great audience goes into a sort of conference upon some important subject, mostly concerning the protection of the young generation from the injurious effects of industries. In some of our industrial centres I have found the most numerous and most reverent worshippers at the divine services, and I am by no means the only Finnish clergyman or pastor who has had this same experience. There are others among my

**Proletarian Pas-
tors and Flocks.**

colleagues who are truly—if you like Mr. Stead's phrase—proletarian pastors and proletarian flocks. What I have now said is not intended to give the idea that the bulk of our organised working men are on the verge of some kind of religious revival. Still less is there among them a diminishing hostility to the official Church. The old prejudice and hostility are still there, and for that of course the Church is not without blame. But even in their hostility against the Church many of the working men cannot do without spiritual religion. This will have appeared to some extent from the facts I have referred to,

and other facts are speaking the same thing. Hundreds of our Social Democratic men have, for instance, turned to theosophy in order to find a solution to the religious problems. Still greater numbers are massing round the platforms of some rather narrow and unscientific religious movements which are as keen in denouncing the pastors of the Church as in denouncing the theory of, say, evolution or other tenets of modern science. I was quite recently told by a Social Democratic friend of mine that in

his workshop some adherents of these
Finns Essentially Religious. religious movements have totally wrested the weapons from the hands of the

Social Democrats who hold the atheistic and materialistic doctrines. In order to understand the great interest religious questions evoke in Finnish people it is necessary to note that the Finnish people is by nature a meditative and religious people. It cannot live without religion. If any cause has to gain success among the Finns, it must be, so to speak, part of the Finns' religion. Such was the case, for instance, with the women's movement, and it succeeded. Such was the case with the temperance movement, too, and we have now prohibition laws in force. I am glad to say that our working people are heart and soul supporters of the prohibition law. Similarly Socialism itself came to our country with the gleam of a new religion in it, and so it gained its immense influence over the minds of the people. But now Socialism is old enough to show how limited is its ability to satisfy the religious needs of the human heart. And so many of our people in the ranks of Socialism are turning away from the materialistic teachings of their Socialistic teachers and are going to other sources than Socialism to find the satisfaction of their religious needs. Of course they remain Socialists, but they are going to other sources for religious satisfaction. This means at the same time a danger and also a great opportunity. It is a danger because if the spiritual instinct does not find a proper expression and proper place among the other interests, social, economic and political, this instinct will become extinct, and then it may be that the last moral state will be worse than the first. But this religious longing means also a great

opportunity which may be the prelude to a really deep and broad proletarian religious awakening, with new possibility in building up strong and pure personalities! Which of these two possibilities is to be a reality? I cannot say. But this much I can say. There are two great agencies existing which have to set their house in

Two Forces of Help.

order, that they may help those masses of men and women who have been sorely beaten by the hardnances of life, driven by the storms of this evil time to look for higher spiritual ideas. The first of these forces is the Church which bears the name of Christ. The second is the Labour Movement. I think both of them have to adjust, to some extent, their attitude of mind and their attitude of practice in order to help men to live a higher and nobler and more spiritual life. The chief need of the present moment is what Mr. Henderson so beautifully said in the kind letter of greeting which he sent to Finland to the meetings of Mr. Stead over there: "The supreme need of this moment is a closer co-operation in all civilised countries between the two mighty forces of Labour and Religion, in order to make religion democratic and the democracy Christian."

The Supreme Need of the Hour,

BY

DR. ALEXANDER IRVINE (U.S.A.)

It has been a great pleasure to listen to our friends from these other countries express themselves on Labour and Religion. I was thinking, while they were speaking, that we ought not to confine the benefits of this Conference to Labour. Why not appoint a sub-committee and ask the Capitalists to get up a conference on Capitalism and Religion? I think it would be very interesting indeed! I don't know who the speakers would be, but it would be mighty interesting to read the papers next morning and see what they would say. Of course you may look at a thing and see something vastly different from what you expected to see. I remember talking to about four hun-

dred ministers once on the question of the unemployed. I was asking them to put a little religion into their sympathy for Labour. I told of two million people being

unemployed, and said, "In your parishes

With Christian Ministers! you are the ministers of rich men. Tell these men to exercise their great social

influence and get us some work. Work-

ing men want to work. They don't want charity and that kind of thing." The wonderful reply I got to that appeal

was this. One man got up at the question time, and putting on a very high falsetto tone said, "Well, now, you

say there are two millions unemployed. Do you know my sister in New Jersey could not get a man to chop wood

last winter? Now how do you explain that?" I said, "I can't explain it, brother. I don't know your sister!"

If I had had a look at her I could have told him! But that stupid way of facing up to a gigantic problem with a

foolish question! That is why we are losing everywhere. We do not rise to the height of a spiritual passion; we do

not make a great appeal to the masses of the people in the simple language of the Man of Galilee. The whole

world seems to be suffering at this moment from a mild attack of neurasthenia. Of course, it's a violent attack in

Ireland, and Russia, fit for the madhouse. But we are all unnerved, and after four years, racking years, no wonder

we are unnerved. Six months ago I went out to talk to the labouring men about the problem of Britain, and I was

rather doleful. I was not very hopeful, believe me, especially when I went to South Wales and stood at the

pit mouth and on the streets, everywhere where the South Welsh miners were, and delivered my

With Welsh Miners. message of goodwill and made my appeal to the spirit that was in man, in

contradistinction to the material aspects

of man. I went rather hopeless. But I came away believing that the same spirit that was manifest in the prosecution of the War, the same spirit of self-sacrifice was

there, the same gigantic response to a national demand would be met in any kind of trouble that those men

found Britain to be in. I was afraid out there

that these men would be very violent. But after spending six months with them, and I was simply appealing to them as I appealed to the men at the Front, I presented the vision of Britain as of a man convalescent after a long sickness, able to be out but not to do very much. What is to build up Britain's business? Export—and one-third of her shipping lies at the bottom of the sea. I am a Socialist. I was a minister once, but I've reformed. I became a writer. I didn't want a committee always on my back. I didn't want anybody telling me how to be good. I was busy advocating the cause of the workers, and I didn't want goodness of the committee kind. After I have gone through these labour regions of Great Britain, before I go back to my home in the United States, I am tremendously hopeful, because the instinct of religion is fundamental in the heart of these working men. And I wish I could say as much for that class which is called capitalist. I think they need

A Mission to Capitalists. this religious fervour that we have got in the Labour circles. Let us have a mission in Pimlico, or Belgravia, and have

these things beautifully printed, get your Conference speakers, and get those masters and millionaires and materialists to come and listen to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I don't think the churches can get at them, but I think we could, because I have faith in this religious movement. I heard this good brother speak of the Kingdom of God. Let me say, as far as we who are called Christians are concerned, I have one suggestion to make. I want to say it very deliberately. I want to say it after thinking over it for ten years: that the one thing that the Christian Church needs—I don't know

The Master's Message— what it wants—but the thing that it needs is a return to the content and the message of Jesus Himself. I find this,

the phrase that my brother from Denmark used, the Kingdom of God, that was the magic phrase on the lip of the Master, always and eternally. And that matchless collection of beautiful, illuminative, illustrative stories had one purpose, and one purpose only, and that was to illus-

trate the Kingdom of God. Not a single story was told except with that purpose. Isn't it mar-

—Ignored by the Church. vellous that from the first œcumenical council held in the city of Jerusalem in the year of our Lord 60, on to the last

œcumenical council the Christian Church has had, that the phrase, the Kingdom of God, was never a topic of discussion? But what historians have told us that? I taught Mr. Stead's little book on that magic phrase twenty years ago in the United States, took it as a text-book, "The Kingdom of God." But he knows as well as I know that very few books have been written on it. Why? Because we have not been emphasising it. I think a return to the Kingdom, in contradistinction to theological controversy, in contradistinction to the teaching or thinking of any man, prophet, priest or apostle,

The One Thing Needed To-day. is what we need to-day. I claim that in that phrase the essence of Christianity came from the burning heart and the burning lips of Jesus Christ Himself. The Kingdom of God is the driving force of love in the human heart. The Kingdom of God is the driving force of beneficence, of sacrifice, of all the feeling, the thrilling emotion in the heart of man. When I have got that, the Japanese, the Hindu, the negro, the black man and all mankind become instantly, by that force, my brothers. What is all that to me? What a man's heart sees, he must worship. I only want him to make his object of worship that kind of Being, with that kind of touch that Jesus had, perfectly kind, perfectly loving, perfectly gentle, perfectly guileless, without hatred, without malice, with only the power that lifts, only the power that controls, only the power that gives a vision. That is what the Christian Church stands in need of. That is what the Labour Movement stands in need of. Therefore let this Conference spread the glad news that Religion and Labour must go hand in hand to the conquest of the world for Christ.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5TH, 1919.

THOMAS CAPE, M.P.

I may say that it is a delight and pleasure for me to have the privilege of presiding at the last session of this Conference. The question for discussion this morning is the formation of a Continuation Committee which might prove the nucleus of a religious counterpart to the Labour Department of the League of Nations. During the week we have discussed many important topics, but none more important than this. I think such a Committee as has been named in this circular ought to be formed. Many of us are disappointed with the League of Nations as it has been formed. Some of us think that a real true conception of a League of Nations can only be realised

The League of Nations.

when we bring into its purview every nation in civilisation. If we do not do that, we get back to where we have been, that is into two armed camps, one in direct opposition to the other: and that, to me, means that the spirit of war will still be fostered. We find that in the League of Nations politics undoubtedly will have a foremost place. Financial interests will find a place, and finance, to my mind, knows no nationality, neither does it regard any creed. Labour has been given a small place or part. I believe the Labour Movement will be strong enough to demand a larger share in settling the affairs of nations from an international point of view. These forces having been brought into the League of Nations, why should not all the people and nations who have within their souls the Christlike spirit have some common Idea by which it can express its feelings and aspirations?

Someone said the other morning that religion must be explicit in the Labour Movement. I agree with that. I want to go further. I say it must be

Difficulties to Be Faced.

explicit in our international relationships. And it can be done by the formation of a Continuation Committee. I am quite aware there will be difficulties in the formation and also the

work of such a Committee when formed. Have not both the Labour and Religious organisations all through the ages had to contend with difficulties? But we have overcome them one by one, disposed of them, as we thought, for all time—only to find ourselves confronted with others. The difficulties, to my mind, that will present themselves to the members of such a Committee as is named in our question for discussion will be three, namely, criticism, finance, and probably direct opposition.

(1) Labour and religious causes have always grown where they were well watered by the dew of criticism.

Criticism. Labour movements, both the Trade Union Movement and the Political Labour Movement, have from the first been subjected to severe criticism, not only by those outside of its ranks, but very often by people inside of its ranks. It would be futile for me to waste any time this morning in telling you of the criticism that has been showered upon our religious organisations. Some men particularly go out of their way to shower criticism on our religious activities. And I very often find that the men that do that most keenly are the men that have never been in the movement and do not understand anything about it! But in our own ranks, in the ranks of our churches and our missions, we have also critics. But a good, healthy, constructive criticism does not do any cause any injury. It helps to stimulate that cause.

(2) Finance is a very, very grave problem. I am one of those unfortunate beings that, every movement I have been connected with has always been on

Thriving on Poverty. poverty corner. I have generally been in a Labour Movement or a religious organisation that either was heavily in debt or was fast going in that direction. I have had some experience in my own connection as chapel steward and society steward. Some of you may not know that that means you have got to be responsible for deficits. I have helped to build chapels and buy chapels, and the only chapel that ever I have been in that has not a very stupendous debt in front of it is the one I am a member of at present. This one, unfortunately, has only about £18

standing against it, and it is the most inarticulate place I have ever been in. It seems to have lost everything of an inspired character. We are afraid to launch out in any project for fear we may add to our small burden of £18. In this Continuation Committee I feel that one of the grave things will be the question of finance. But I remember at one time acting as secretary for a Labour candidate we were going to run in a constituency, and when we reckoned up the exchequer we found that we were rich enough to say we had the magnificent sum of eightpence. We went into the campaign, and after circumstances over which we had no control we found ourselves with a surplus of two shillings and a penny, somewhat better than we started. But in all cases, every attempt that has been made for the uplifting of humanity to a higher standard of life has always been born in poverty and existed on financial embarrassment. But faith is a remarkable thing, and great things have been done in the labour and religious movement by men of faith. And I am sanguine enough to believe that if we can form this Continuation Committee, get it into action, there will be men on that Committee with sufficient faith and confidence in God and in the cause they will advertise to inspire them to go on: and the finance, to my mind, will come along.

(3) Direct opposition may be forcible from many sources. But that may be more an assumption on my part than a reality. Direct opposition to

Opposition. labour and religious movements through the ages has been violent, persecution has been violent, and sometimes brutality has been resorted to. But I believe that I would be right in saying that not only in our own country, but in the majority of countries, we have got to a better standard of life than that which they had in the years that have gone by. And while we may have certain direct opposition to this Continuation Committee, I do not think it will be of such a nature, or anything like what our forefathers have gone through for the causes they believed in. And we will not be worthy of being called direct descendants of theirs if opposition from any source gives any fear, in a cause like this.

There is another matter that is of the utmost gravity in the formation of such a Committee as is suggested in our topic : that is the laying down of a

Formula of Unanimity. basis or formula for which you could get unanimity of international acceptance.

Senator Vinck seems to have a great deal of fear on this point. He is not enraptured with the church life of his country, but I do hope and I believe that when this Committee is formed it will not take its guide from the Church as we know it to-day, but from the fundamental principles laid down by the Christ of Nazareth. I hope that it will be a Committee to cultivate a desire

What the Committee Must Do. among the people of all nations to seek things that are highest, best and noblest, to make the religion in the Labour Movement, that is implicit, explicit, both

nationally and internationally, that its adherents may go forth like men and women filled with a living fire, carrying a message of hope and love to men and women of all nationalities, and being a world-force to spread the gospel of love, brotherhood and comradeship. I think that if we can form this Committee, this Committee probably in the days to come will be a committee of force in our international life, will bring together men of all colours and men of all types, that as the coming generations come up they will probably not be able to see or even imagine the circumstances under which a Committee might be needed; but they will have cause to rejoice and be glad that ever one day this Conference in London met to form an International Committee for the spread of Labour and Religion.

I do sincerely hope when we go away to our homes in our different localities we will carry a new message, new ideals, new hopes and aspirations with us, and a desire to further all these things for the benefit of the people that we move and live amongst. And as we journey through life and come to the end of life, may we be able to console ourselves by the fact that at any rate the world will have been all the better for us having lived in it and done in it what we could to make life more beautiful and brighter and better than it has hitherto been.

Points of Agreement,

BY

SIGFRID SIRENIUS.

Yesterday morning I tried to refer to the dangers of the present moral situation, to the immensely difficult obligations that lie before men and movements to-day, and to the supreme need of strong personalities to do the work which is needed. Now we have been asking here during these days of conference what should be actually done. The simple and unanimous answer seems to have been that

The Need of Religion. there is felt a supreme need of true religion to renew the souls and build up the characters of men. This need of religion has not, it is true, been expressed in any common formula, but if I have understood the discussion aright, the common opinion has seemed to me that Jesus Christ has something yet to say and give to His disciples and to the world at large in this generation. And that is believed by many of those who for one reason or another would not exactly profess His Name in a Christian sense, but are seeking what may be called the Kingdom of God, and in their hearts of hearts are worshipping no one else but Him Who is the Father of Jesus Christ. It has been held by most of the members of this Conference who have given voice to their opinions that the message of Jesus Christ ought to be given the most careful attention, and an effective expression in our time, if humanity is not to be ruined altogether. Some of the members, on the other hand, I may well recall the most fine and tolerant utterances of our friend, Senator Vinck, have uttered themselves less definitely with regard to positive religious beliefs. But the unanimous desire has been that a common basis should be found, if not dogmatically, at any rate practically, upon which all good men and women in different lands, who see the salvation of mankind in religious and moral forces, would unite with common and mutual action. If I have understood the

A Common Basis.

deliberations of the Conference aright, I may say the unanimous desire has been to rally together in different countries, in different creeds and different movements, all men and women who believe in the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and, may I not add? the Mastership of Jesus. One word more about the common basis for united and international action. Our

Three Essentials. friend, Senator Vinck, has been very anxious about finding a common formula in order to make the great ideals of this international movement, which is now to commence, acceptable to as many different men and groups of men as possible. Now I should think that such common formula, in a very definite shape, need not be found and need not be expressed as a sort of new creed. It is sufficient that we have found a common basis which may be expressed. I am not quite sure whether all would agree that it may be expressed in the words, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the Mastership of Jesus Christ. On this basis let the different individuals, different groups and nations express their convictions in their own way. We should be the advocates of a wide toleration of most diverse views and opinions for which those that express them are alone responsible.

What now are the practical steps to be taken? It has been suggested that an International Continuation Committee should be appointed. Our Chairman has expressed as his opinion that such a committee is to be considered a necessity. I should not like to make any reference,

however, to the Labour Department of the future League of Nations in this connection. Because there is not yet any League of Nations existing, and you must forgive me if I am a little bit pessimistic about the whole matter. We do not know whether there will be, under the present international settlement, or, perhaps better, unsettlement, anything like the League of Nations. At any rate, those eighteen or twenty wars which are being waged in the world at present ought to be ended before that. And the Imperialistic and militaristic spirit which I understand at the present moment is stronger in the

nations of the world than ever before, ought to be put down. After this has been done, and not before, will the Labour Department of the League of Nations, or such a League of Nations itself, be formed. So we had better not refer to the Labour Department of the League of Nations in this connection.

But a Continuation Committee of some kind should, of necessity, be appointed. For first we want an intercourse between persons in different countries who desire to work for common ideals. We want information as to what is going on in the different countries, and we want to have an index of literature which is being published upon the questions which interest us, and so on. For this purpose it should be considered if it would not be necessary to start an international periodical, monthly or quarterly, for discussing the subjects in question during the intervals of the conferences like this.

An International Periodical. This periodical would constitute the sort of common platform for open discussion of the problems at stake, and, of course, every writer should have the fullest freedom of utterance and should be alone responsible for his opinions. Secondly, we want an agency for organising the propaganda, for realising the great idea of the late Keir Hardie, the idea of a new crusade to be ventured upon. For this purpose the Continuation Committee should have

An Intelligence Bureau. its bureau, an International Bureau, which would follow the trend of developments, give advice to the workers in different countries, find out where work ought to be specially done, what ought to be done, and plan the campaign to be conducted, choose the countries and places where conferences should be held, and so on. And, thirdly, we want money to finance the movement. The Chairman has already referred to this question, and it is not an easy question. I do not know whether some millionaire would be interested for this movement—as I understand some of them have already interested themselves in useful humanitarian and international movements. Now, with regard to

the constitution of the Committee, it ought to be purely international. Germany must, of course,

Admission of Germany. be included as soon as possible. Second, it ought to be really representative of the religious and democratic movements of

our time. In order to secure this, the individual leaders of the Labour Movement, as all other Movements, who would be likely to sympathise with the project should be approached. They should be invited to take part in public discussion, in conferences or otherwise, or asked to take part in "crusades" or other similar arrangements from time to time, contribute to the international periodical, and especially some of them, as many as are needed, should be asked to become members of the Continuation Committee itself. The individual members of the Committee could, of course, be representative of their respective organisations, in formal official sense, but not necessarily so. I expect that most of the members would be sitting on the committee as private individuals, whose place in the work would carry weight only as far as their personal influence goes. The membership of men like Mr. Henderson, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Lansbury, Bishop Gore, M. Vandervelde, M. Vinck, Mr. Li, would carry very far. And as with the individual members, so the case would be with the committee as a whole. It would not be of

A Free and Voluntary Organ. any official character. It would only be a free and voluntary organ, dependent for its existence on international conferences like the present one. I there-

fore suggest that such a committee be now appointed, with the right of supplementing itself. A great committee, an international committee, is, of course, difficult to move. Therefore there ought to be sub-committees for certain areas, say, at first two sub-committees, one for Scandinavia and Finland and northern countries, and another for the Western European countries, and I hope, after Mr. Stead has had opportunity to visit the United States, he might perhaps help an American sub-committee to be formed. The head committee should meet seldom, only as often as it would be needed. The local or sub-committees should meet more often. The first act of the

head committee should be, after it has constituted itself, to issue some kind of proclamation. We have here a draft of a proclamation which I think will be read before long, an appeal with a view to reach the right men and women in different countries, and with a view to asking them to give their moral support and active work to the movement. The appeal ought to be submitted before its final issue, both with regard to its contents and wording, to the approbation of all the members of the committee to be elected. It would be of immense value if the signatures of as many public men and women as possible could be affixed to the proclamation. And that some of the very first questions the committee should deal with would be the question of an International Bureau, the question of a periodical, and the question of finance.

In his absence at a distant Labour dispute, Miss Miriam Barber read this paper :—

The Labour Department of the League of Nations,

BY

FATHER HOPKINS

(of the Seamen's Friendly Society of St. Paul).

Let me say at once that, in my opinion, the formation of a Continuation Committee to watch and interpret in the interests of Truth and Religion, the operations of the contemplated Labour Department of the League of Nations, is most desirable. Before, however, proceeding to endeavour to justify that opinion to the present Conference, let me explain, as well and as briefly as I can, what the Peace Conference has in view in connection with the establishment of an International Labour Department, and how it reached its determinations upon the subject.

The Peace Conference appointed five Commissions, one of which was to deal with international legislation on industrial and Labour questions. Soon after the appointment of the Commission, members of the Parliamentary Committee (Mr. G. H. Stuart-Bunning, Right

**The Labour
Commission.**

Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and Mr. R. Shirkie, with the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and A. Henderson) were summoned to Paris to consider with representatives of the British Government proposals affecting Labour conditions from an international aspect. Their recommendations were submitted to the International Commission, and, with slight modifications, eventually adopted. Proposals were placed before the Commission by the Italian, French, American, Belgian, and British delegations as to the declarations which should be made. The Commission decided that no declaration should be submitted to the Peace Conference unless it were adopted by a two-thirds majority. Nine declarations, all of which obtained such a

A Charter of tions, all of which obtained such a
Nine Points. majority and some of which were
 adopted unanimously, were ultimately
 submitted to the Peace Conference, and by it modified into
 this final shape:—

The High Contracting Parties, recognising that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed a permanent machinery associated with that of the League of Nations to further this great end. They recognise that differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:—

First.—The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second.—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third.—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth.—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth.—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth.—The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the con-

tinuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh.—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth.—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth.—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world.

A Convention creating a Permanent Organisation for
the promotion of the "International
A Notable Regulation of Labour Conditions"

Preamble. based upon the nine Declarations, was
also adopted. I will now read the

Preamble to the Convention:—

"Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice:

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures;

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

"The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:—"

(1) Now consider for a moment the Statute of Labourers of the fourteenth century, when England was called Christian and Catholic. In the

Contrasts in Earlier Times. reign of Edward III. the population had been so much reduced by the pestilence called the "Black Death" that the demand for labour was greater than the supply, and the labourers in consequence thought that the time was then opportune to secure higher wages and better conditions.

Their demands were promptly met by the passing of the aforesaid "Statute of Labourers," which enacted that

Statute of Labourers, 14th Century. every man and woman "within three-score years," and not having "of his own wherewith to live," should be bound to serve at the customary wages paid in the years previous to the pestilence.

If such a person refused he was to be committed to jail. Another Statute passed two years later ordered the arrest of any labourer or artificer who left his master and went into another county, but this was shortly judged to be too mild a punishment and it was further ordered that, in addition to imprisonment, the workman so offending was to be branded with a hot iron in the forehead with the letter "'F,' in token of the falsity," if the aggrieved party so wished and the justices advised it.

Any person, able to work, and found begging, was to be taken to the nearest town and there tied naked to the end of a cart and to be beaten with whips "till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping." Persistent refusal to work was to be punished with mutilation and finally by death.

(2) In the sixteenth century, when England was called Christian and Protestant, we find a law passed on the accession of Edward VI. (1547), by

Protestant Labour Legislation, 16th Century. which a serving man wanting a master, or loitering, or wandering, might on conviction be branded with the letter "V" and adjudged to be the slave for

two years of the person buying him, giving him only bread and water or "small drink," and such refuse of meat as the master should think fit, and causing him to work by

beating, chaining or otherwise. If he ran away he might not only be punished by his master in the same way, but the justices were to have him marked on the forehead or cheek with an iron with the letter S, and adjudge him to be the master's slave for life. If he again ran away he was to suffer death "as other felons ought to do." The master might also sell him as any other of his goods and chattels.

In Elizabeth's reign a Statute passed in 1562, whilst it repealed some of the former penalties, also enacted a few fresh ones. For instance any "suitable person" could be required to assist in any work the justices thought fit at harvest time, or upon refusal be placed in the stocks for two days and a night. Leaving one master for another "without a testimonial" was still to be punished with imprisonment and whipping.

(3) Now compare these Statutes with this latest "Statute of Labour," which has emerged internationally, as it were, from the twentieth century—

World's Labour called by many godless and materialistic!
Department, Tell me what and whose is the image
20th Century. and superscription upon this latest. The image of Justice? But that in its turn is the image of God.

It looks as if, without perhaps our knowing it, or at any rate all of us acknowledging it, that the kingdoms of this world *were* becoming the kingdom of our God and His righteousness. For what is righteousness but rightwiseness, and what, again, is rightwiseness but justice?

We seek universal peace? Yes, but universal peace based upon international social justice. "Justice" not for the few select, chosen ones, but justice for all in all nations. And so I turn to the High Contracting Parties

and I say to them, "Whether you know it or not, whether you would acknowledge it or not, the spirit of justice which animates you is the Spirit of God, and from His Kingdom you are not far, be your religious creed what it may."

The peoples of the world, I am thinking, should have

that aspect of the League of Nations and its aims and objects continuously brought home to them. They should be told, with the League of Nations Convention in our hands, that here is a sign that the Spirit of God slumbers not nor sleeps; that the Spirit of God is moving on the waters of modern affairs and modern life.

Let us have our Continuation Committee then and go out from this Conference to inspire governments and peoples with a consciousness of the very great nearness of God in the things which they are doing towards the accomplishment of universal peace and justice.

F. HERBERT STEAD.

I should suggest that there should at once be issued, approved by as many as possible, a statement of what we have arrived at during this week. To wait until we have appointed a Continuation Committee, to wait until we have got a Continuation Committee together, an international one, to wait until we have done everything else by correspondence—and you know what correspondence across Europe involves now in time—would be to bring out this proclamation, as Pastor Sirenus calls it, after people have forgotten all about the Conference. We want to strike while the iron is hot. I bear glad and grateful witness to the support we have had from the Press. Our proceedings have been made very widely known indeed, and it would be a great mistake if we were not to issue at once a joint statement as to what our Conference has arrived at.

Perhaps you will allow me also to mention that Pastor Sirenus is the man of faith whose initiative has caused this Conference to come into being. Perhaps having had such a great amount of faith in that direction, we may excuse him for not being equally confident as to the future of the other great unitive movement, the League of Nations. I may venture to say that the Labour Department of the League of Nations is actually summoned to meet in Washington on the 29th of October; and when Pastor Sirenus says that the League of Nations is uncertain, and the Labour Department of the League of Nations is still more uncertain, his vision of the fact is not equal to the faith we expect of him.

Will you pardon me if I venture to submit two drafts. One was drawn up by Senator Vinck. He suggests some such very brief statement as this should go forth:—

Senator Vinck's Draft.

"This Conference has had for its aims to put in value the aspects, ethical and religious, of the International Labour Movement. It is not intended by that to undertake a propaganda in favour of this or that cult, of this or that philosophy. It means to keep itself on the ground where there can be united those who in the whole world are pursuing the complete emancipation of the workers and the transformation of society. There can be no question of misconceiving the greatness of the revindications of the Labour world demanding an amelioration of its material conditions, an element essential to their emancipation. But the Conference proclaims that it would diminish the movement itself if it were to confine itself to these material ends alone. It is because it contains an ideal of justice and of solidarity, it is because it pursues the realisation of the ideal, it is because its militants are eager and ready again for all sacrifices to serve that ideal, that the Labour Movement contains in itself all the elements of the great religious convictions. The Conference asks all the Labour Movements of the world to consider this aspect of the problem at a moment when it seems that there is a certain disintegration of the moral outlook which causes trouble to some proletarian consciences and makes them descend to the moral level of capitalist society which we are fighting and criticising. The recognition of the great superior principles which we term transcendental, of justice, of solidarity, for the moral conduct of man, should give to our movement a unity and force which would achieve the end assured, namely, the domination of the world."

We have to thank Senator Vinck for having drafted so concisely the statement of our aims. I have ventured, as having convened this Conference, to draft a statement which I submit to you, hoping that it may be at any rate the basis of discussion.

The Convener's Draft.

To all adherents and friends of the Labour Movement throughout the world:

Statement adopted at the last Meeting of the Conference, Sept. 5th.

A series of Labour Weeks held in Browning Hall, Walworth, in the first days of May, 1910 to 1915, in which the foremost leaders of British Labour appealed for personal religion to the workers of the world, culminated in the International Labour Week in 1915, at which the speakers were M. Vandervelde, M. Longuet, Mr. Einar Li (Norway), Hans Wirz (German-speaking Switzerland), along with British Labour leaders. Thus was signalled **the Labour Movement in Religion**. Thus was achieved the public reconciliation of European Labour and Religion.

The proceedings of these Weeks have been published in English and translated, in whole or in part, into Danish, Finnish, Spanish and German.

There was a widespread feeling that the progress of this movement, interrupted by the war, should be resumed. The need was the greater in view of **the world-wide expansion of the Labour Movement**. The old International is being rebuilt. The Trade Unions of the world are coming into closer federation. And in the Labour Department of the League of Nations we have the prospect of the entire world of Labour becoming officially unified. Moreover, the world is now generally democratised, and democracy means the rule of the working classes.

At such a creative time, it was felt to be more than ever desirable that those leaders of the working classes of the world who believe in **the religious inspirations of the Labour Movement**, should meet together in conference for the purpose of giving fresh expression to their highest ideals, and of taking steps to make the workers in all lands more aware of the claim and power of these ideals.

"Everything in the world now, humanly speaking, depends upon Labour. And everything in Labour depends upon religion." So, with the warm approval of British and Continental Labour leaders, the International Conference on Labour and Religion has met in Browning Hall, September 1st to 5th, 1919. It contains representatives of the Labour Movement from its extreme right to its extreme left, and men of creeds as different as Brahman, Parsee, agnostic and almost every variety of Christian. Amid all personal and racial and credal diversity, a remarkable unanimity was evident throughout the gatherings. The Spirit of the future seemed to be present and leading.

The first meeting was devoted to an endeavour to ward off from the Labour Movement the curse of **Materialism**, which has been so fatal to the moral life of the other classes, recognising at the same time that the working classes were of all classes inspired with the highest ideals. The more jealously therefore was the desire expressed to warn them against the incursions of that gross Materialism which, in the form of Mammonism and Militarism, has wrought such havoc on the happiness and the morals of the world.

Then came the root question of all, **Is there a religion implicit in the Labour Movement**; and can it be made explicit? The agreement amongst all creeds and schools of thought that there IS a religion implicit in the Labour Movement was very striking. What were recognised as **religious elements in the Labour Movement** were enumerated by various speakers from different points of view, but may be summarised as follows:—

SACRIFICE of the individual for the sake of common welfare, which has hallowed especially the opening stages of the Labour Movement, but was present throughout;

THE LAW OF SERVICE, the duty to serve and therefore the Right to Work;

A frank brotherliness and heartiness of fellowship which gives reality to its insistence on the universal **BROTHERHOOD OF MAN**;

Its **INTERNATIONALISM**, its insistence on International Unity;

A firm and resolute **LOYALTY TO ORGANISATION** so intense as to show itself in an intelligible **INTOLERANCE** to those who would imperil the welfare of the whole for personal ends;

Unceasing and unflinching hostility to the ascendancy of **MAMMON**;

The unhesitating and undeviating demand for the **ABOLITION OF POVERTY**;

A demand equally insistent for the **ABOLITION OF WAR**;

A resolute purpose to pursue these high aims in spite of the contradiction and opposition of the existing material conditions, in other words, a lofty **IDEALISM**;

An unquenchable **FAITH IN THE FUTURE**, a certainty—based not upon experience—of the coming of a higher and better social order, a conviction rooted in a sphere above and beyond the material sphere;

This conviction, everywhere latent in the Labour Movement, is mostly inarticulate but indubitably present;

It expresses itself sometimes as reliance upon the **forces of evolution** which have developed humanity as we now know it and which are confidently expected to raise it to vastly higher levels of life;

Or as the duty of obedience to the **transcendent principles of morality** which are not derived from experience, but claim to control all conduct, individual or social;

Or, as in the East, a faith in the **Divine Immanence** and therefore in the Solidarity of Man;

Or, as in Christian minds, a belief in the moral purpose of the universe expressed in the **Fatherhood of God**, and the consequent **Brotherhood of Man**, the moral sovereignty of the ideals of conduct embodied in Jesus of Nazareth, and the continual guidance of the same Spirit working in and through the upward movements of human history toward a perfect goal;

In this conviction, however expressed, lies the essential Religion of the Labour Movement.

As an illustration of the common ground on which thinkers negative as well as positive have been able to stand, may be quoted, from his speech at Browning Hall in the International Labour Week, 1915, the following words of M. Vandervelde, then the elected President of the International Socialist Bureau:—

“He who addresses you is an agnostic. He would even say, with Schiller, that he practises no religion for the sake of religion. But he has the conviction that the religious sentiment is one of the permanent factors in social evolution. He has the conviction that tomorrow, as yesterday, in the presence of the mystery of its origin and its destiny, humanity will cherish religious sentiments, expressing themselves doubtless otherwise than they were expressed in the past, with greater freedom, giving a larger place to the individual mind, but with the same intensity, perhaps with even greater intensity.”

M. Longuet in the same week said:—“We have seen during the last ten years of the French Socialist and Labour Movement the growth of a true religious sentiment amongst some of our best men.

M. Jean Jaures, that great idealist leader of French Socialism, declared that he would not admit that natural and social life was all that belonged to man; he proclaimed the right for all men to reach a religious conception of life. What the working class the world over love in Socialism is what Religion was in old times supposed to be striving after—Justice. It is to-day for millions of men a faith, a hope, a common purpose. In order to realise Socialism I do not think it would be necessary to change only the material order of things. Like my eminent friend M. Vandervelde, my very strong conviction is that we must also reform the soul and prepare men that will be worthy of the Socialist order."

These are the two drafts that are submitted to this Conference, either for postponement, rejection, amendment or adoption.

If we adopt some expression of our collective agreement, we could then go on to appoint a Continuation Committee or Committees; and, as a simple way—though we have not had time to inquire from each who may be mentioned, whether they will serve on this Committee or not—that we should appoint a General Committee consisting of all those who have been specially invited to this Conference, whether they have attended or not. They all have expressed cordial support of the idea. They all have expressed their desire to further its aims.

EINAR LI.

I myself am quite satisfied with this draft or statement which Mr. Stead has given us. In Scandinavian countries I suppose we have many of the same kind as the Belgian Senator represents. Also because of them we can be able to interest him and them in our movement. The Belgian Senator has every time he has been on this platform asked for a universal formula. The Finnish speaker tried to give such a formula. I myself think that the Finnish formula was too narrow. To me the formula is in the terms of this week—Labour and Religion. I think it is good enough, because Labour and Religion, that means to me that we recognise the great power of religion in Labour, and we wish to combine these two powers. With the term Labour and Religion Mr. Vinck may go back to Belgium, and instead of religion he may speak of morality, but morality is essential to religion. With the term Labour and Religion Mr. Sirenus can go back to Finland and speak on Religion, on Christianity, on Jesus Christ. I

myself believe that this term, Labour and Religion, is a good motto for the Movement itself.

SIGFRID SIRENIUS.

I am very glad that I am able to agree also to a very large extent with this proclamation that has been drawn up by Mr. Stead. I would suggest and ask whether this phrase, "Religion Implicit in the Labour Movement" could not be formulated in other words, because I am afraid that many of the Social Democrats on the Continent, especially in my own country, would not like to hear very much about the religion implicit in the Labour Movement. Then I should be glad if there could be stated still more clearly than it has been stated, that there really is in the Labour Movement a place for Christians, and that there actually are many Christians in different countries who embrace the great ideas of the Labour Movement.

RICHARD WESTROPE.

I should like to point out that there is one point in my brother's address just now that seems to me to strike at the whole conception of the Conference. We have been called here very largely because most of us have a very intense conviction that religion is implicit in the Labour Movement: and personally I intended to say the other day that the position with very many, as I discovered it some few years ago during the coal strike and the railway strike, is largely this. You remember Molière's play, the gentleman who wanted to talk prose, but was quite unconscious that he was talking prose all the time? Now I am convinced that a very large number of men and women are intensely and deeply religious but not Christian—that is to say, not Christian in the orthodox, full-fledged sense of the term, Christians. And it seems to me that in the fact for instance, that the working man is a mystic in many cases, though he cannot put it in any formula or in any phraseology, but he does feel that he belongs to a larger whole, for which he is prepared to give himself, to sacrifice himself, and if necessary to die—in that idea of solidarity it seems to me is one of the fundamental principles of religion. And then I am prepared also to say, I know it would be disputed by very many to-day, but I still

think that there are a large number, an immense number, of working men whose expression of their life is found in their common work. You remember the factor in "Middlemarch," where he is considering his work that he is doing, attending to hedges and ditches and things here and there? He says it is work that a man would do gladly for nothing, but he has a wife and children: and then he adds what I am quite sure a large number of our men still feel, that it is a great gift of God to be able to take part. I know just now it is unsettled, it is disturbed. Personally I should be very disappointed if we did not emphasise the fact that religion is implicit in the Labour Movement. That is one of the things that I believe intensely, and accounts for the action that I myself have felt that I must take.

JOSEPH ASOLATI.

I hope you will excuse my speech. I am just a rough working chap. But for the whole of my life I have had the hope of doing good. As a boy I was a Roman Catholic. I believed that faith as a child and as a boy. When I reached the age to go out into the world to work—I was very young, eleven years of age—I began slowly to get divorced from these teachings, not exactly from the teachings of Christ, but from the Church. I can assure you from the bottom of my heart, and anybody who knows me can tell you the same, that I have always been imbued with a good motive. I am the father of four children. To-day I am semi-unemployed, being a taxi-driver. Now this war comes about. I have always had a love for history, in my little crude way, and I have studied history and I have studied wars, especially those in my own time, such as the Boer War; and wars always appeared to me to be a question of gain, or brought about by certain men known as diplomats, who were nothing else, to my mind, but men of cunning. How could you define a diplomat apart from cunning? They bring about a war. My opinion—I speak also for Italians, my parents are Italian—I speak for the peasant of Italy. They are people who are brought up under Catholicism, which I have not a word against. The priests I met as a boy were, some of them,

ideal men themselves. But when this war comes about, right or wrong, the Church supports war. War, I say, is devil's work. But, you see, you find the Church in all countries supports war. In my opinion my country was justified in going to war with Germany. But how do you account for the Catholics in Germany telling their men to go forward for God and the Right? How can you explain it? You can't. It is for that reason that I assure you, humble as I am, that the workers as a rule are very cautious and dubious when you mention the word religion to them. Personally, although I do not go to a church, I have the ideals of Christ in me, as far as one can in this materialistic world of ours. But if you ask me if I am honest, I say No, because I can't be honest in this world of ours. But as I have gone through the week here—I have not been at work, as I have told you—this week has been a wonderful week for me. If this idea of religion is to be anything that is good, go on with it. But you can't ask the workers in various countries. When you talk of religion they see the Church. I don't go to church, and yet at times when I pass the Catholic Church where I was taught as a boy, I find myself raising my hat, although I don't go in it. I am like a ship at sea, thirty-six years of age, and I am rocking about. I go to Socialist meetings, Bolshevik meetings, all sorts of meetings, and I am to-day not master of myself because I cannot direct my thoughts into the right direction yet. And I say to parsons and ministers, Throw off your shackles, drop your materialism, and go out and teach God's Word. You can't do it from the Church, because the Church is part and parcel of the State, and unless you teach the doctrines of the State you are not wanted in the Church. The Church during five years of war has been nothing but a house of politics. Anyway, I wish you that are sincere in this movement, good luck to you. But you must put this before the people as something away from the Church, although I would love to see the Church be a Church. But to-day it is nothing but a house of politics, and I think it has been that the State has got hold of the Church; and the men in the Church may be imbued with goodness but you can't rely on them.

C. NORLEV.

On entering your country I of course should have my passport viséd, and one of the policemen then asked me about my business. I think that he fears it was something like Bolshevism. We are surely not Bolsheviks, none of us, surely. But we are going to work, it seems to me, a revolution of much greater effect than the Bolshevik revolution. We agree that humanity is ruled, controlled by a transcendental moral principle, even if we do not all express our religion in the same words. I am sure that this creed—if I may say that word—is a religious faith, and obedience to that faith is a religious act, and leads perhaps to sacrifice. I myself can express my belief in no better words than this, the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God seems to me the greatest revolution the world has seen at any time. It seems to me that we in our time stand for a change in the religious life as I know it. People I know in my country have as a rule very little interest in domestic disputes on ecclesiastical questions. They always feel that the point in religion is the moral one. They say that we have divided humanity. But we need to unite humanity. And I hope that what we here are going to do shall help to work out religious truths which can unite humanity in brotherhood and which can lead us all to live a moral life, a brotherly life. I am delighted that this Conference has been held, and I hope we now shall appoint such a committee to carry the work out into the world.

MRS. ANKERS.

I should like to say for the Norwegian people that I think it is extremely religious in itself, and especially the Labour people in Norway. But there is an artificial barrier between their feelings and their thoughts which accounts for this idea that religion is not the last word of science. They believe that they cannot be at the forefront of thought if they believe in Christianity or in any other sort of religion. They are taught materialism from the Universities, and believe they cannot reconcile progress with Christianity. That, I think, is of extreme import-

ance—that this great work here must try to unite with these Socialists who are so highly scientific that they can carry weight. And with this recommendation I would like from my standpoint—I am a Spiritualist—to say that I think the work of Sir Oliver Lodge and Conan Doyle may really do much to break down this barrier to people's belief in a spiritual truth about the matter. But all spiritual movements ought to be united, because there is a common basis behind it all. They all believe in the principles of Jesus Christ, I think, and therefore I would like to support Mr. Stead's draft, because I think that it opens the way for all the religions that are united in this principle.

THOMAS CAPE, M.P.

I think there has not been any direct opposition to the drafted manifesto. I cannot say that our friend in the centre directly opposed it. He has been here every day this week, and I have been interested in watching him, and I am glad he has had an opportunity to express himself. My friend would be quite prepared to say we ought to go on with the work set out in the manifesto.

It speaks of "the unhesitating and undeviating demand for the Abolition of Poverty: A demand equally insistent for the Abolition of War." We believe, at least I do, that if the Labour Movement had been solidly international, and the religious forces had also been solidly international, in all probability there might have been a prevention of the great war we had just come through. We anticipate that should such an affliction ever again menace us, all these religious and moral forces will be so conjoined and united as to even make Governments tremble when they are thinking about war. With regard to the Church and its attitude on war, well, I think the least said about that the better. The Church was divided in its opinions. You had men in your Church who were Jingoës: you had men in the Churches who were conscientious objectors. We were largely driven into this war by national aspects and economic points of view. But we must get out of the national rut into the wider sphere of internationalism.

I think it would be safe to say that the manifesto is accepted in principle.

F. HERBERT STEAD.

We do not, I think, need to advertise the fact that we have Christian Labour leaders. Any report of the proceedings, with Mr. Henderson's speech last night, would be ample vindication. The builder and re-builder of the International is Arthur Henderson. The Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions wrote to this meeting to say he believed with his whole heart in Jesus Christ. The formation of the Labour Department of the League of Nations has been, as all have acknowledged, primarily the work of George Barnes, who is a member of our Fellowship of Followers of Jesus Christ. So we do not need to advertise the fact that Christian Labour leaders are re-shaping the world to-day. The facts speak for themselves. (After further conversation)

THOMAS CAPE, M.P.

I think the whole situation will be met if we do not put in anything about the British Labour leaders. Personally, as a member of the Labour Party both in the House and out of the House, I want to see as many Christian men come into that Party as we can possibly get. I have been in the Party now some twenty years, and equally as long in the Church, and I have run both of these things together without any spiritual deterioration to myself; and I would like to see men of Christian faith and belief come into our Movement, just as I would like to see men in the Labour Movement come into the Church.

REV. TOM WARREN.

I should suggest that the manifesto go forth as it is. Perhaps at some future time another manifesto may go out. I am thoroughly in favour of this, and I do hope something will be done. What I feel we want to do at the present moment is this: first of all to clear the mind of the men that are outside the Church—like my dear friend here, who went out years ago—of the belief that the Church is what it was twenty-five years ago. I am prepared to say it is not. Twenty-five years ago I should have been

turned out of any church for saying what I can say now. Twenty-five years ago, when I was an election agent for Keir Hardie, and spoke for him on this platform with George Lansbury, it was almost impossible for me to remain in the Church. You can say what you like in it now. We want to get the men outside the Church to realise that. What you want to do in a Movement like this is to get the people who are inside the Church, and timid. If some Labour leader says some extraordinary thing, and the thing gets into the papers, the people—the steady, quiet, respectable-going people, who are worth something in this world—read that statement and judge the whole Labour Movement, not knowing it; just as the men do outside the Church, not knowing the inside. We are remarkably apt to judge each other. What we need is to be brought together and look each other in the face, and we shall find each other not half as bad as we imagined. There is no section of any community, whatever title they may bear, who have all the good things in their possession. And here is an opportunity. I have been here day after day, and been delighted—delighted especially with our brothers from the Continent who have contributed very wise things. I hope the manifesto will go out, and that the Committee will be formed, and that we shall have some opportunity later on of meeting again like this and drawing hundreds more people here from all communities to listen to the splendid Movement that I hope will be started to-day.

Certain verbal changes having been made, the Statement was adopted as printed above.

Continuation Committee.

Next it was agreed to form a Continuation Committee for the furtherance of the work, and those who had been specially invited to take part in the Conference were asked to become members of the General Committee with power to add. Their names follow:—

William Adamson, M.P.

W. A. Appleton, General Federation of Trade Unions.

George Banton, Leicester.

George N. Barnes, M.P.

*Mario Borsa, Milan, Italy.

J. T. Brown, Hull.

Thomas Cape, M.P. for Workington.

- *F. Chandler, Manchester.
 Harold Clay, Leeds.
 W. H. Eastman, Hull.
 *Edo Fimmen, International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, Holland.
 *Charles Gore, Bishop.
 Arthur Henderson, M.P.
 Frank Hodges, Miners' Federation of Great Britain.
 Charles Hopkins, Seamen's Friendly Society of St. Paul.
 *Alexander Irvine.
 F. A. Jarman, National Agricultural Labourers' Union.
 George Lansbury.
 Einar Li, Norway.
 Basil Mathews, London Missionary Society.
 *Romolo Murri, Italy.
 C. Norlev, Copenhagen, Denmark.
 Petro Petrides, Greece.
 *L. Ragaz, Zürich.
 Archibald Ramage, Faith and Labour League.
 Thomas Richards, M.P.
 *F. O. Roberts, M.P.
 J. D. Robertson, United Free Church of Scotland.
 *Mr. Schouten, Member of the Dutch Senate.
 F. Sheppard, Bristol.
 Sigfrid Sirenus, Helsingfors, Finland.
 Erik Sjöstrand, Sweden.
 Tom Sykes, National Council of Brotherhoods.
 Emile Vandervelde, Belgium.
 C. Vinck, Member of the Belgian Senate.
 B. P. Wadia, Madras Labour Union, India.
 Richard Westrope, York.
 Gaylor White, New York.
 A Danish Labour Leader yet to be nominated.
 A Representative of the Finnish Social Democracy.
 Miriam Barber.
 F. Herbert Stead.

* Not yet (October 1st) consented to serve.

It was agreed to appoint or invite the following to act as nucleus of Committee or Conference in each country named :—

BELGIUM.—Senator Vinck and M. Vandervelde.

DENMARK.—C. Norlev and a Danish Labour Leader.

FINLAND.—S. Sirenus and a representative of the Finnish Social Democracy.

GREECE.—Petro Petrides.

HOLLAND.—Senator Schouten and Edo Fimmen.

ITALY.—Mario Borsa and Romolo Murri.

NORWAY.—Einar Li.

SWITZERLAND.—Prof. Ragaz and Hans Wirz.

SWEDEN.—Erik Sjöstrand.

Provisional Executive.

The following were requested to serve on the Provisional Executive Committee :—*Bishop Gore, George Lansbury, Thomas Cape, M.P., W. Stockbridge (Seamen), Frank Hodges (Miners), Miriam Barber, F. Herbert Stead (Convener), 29, Grosvenor Park, London, S.E.5.

Each member of the Conference was invited to form a nucleus in his industrial centre at home or abroad for the promotion of similar conferences or Labour Weeks or other means of developing World-Labour-Evangelism.

The proceedings closed with the singing of

The World Anthem.

God make the world one State!
 All nations, small and great,
 One civic whole!
 Self-ruled each people be!
 All peoples linked and free!
 Glorious in unity
 From pole to pole!

One World—one destiny!
 One Race—one family!
 One God above!
 All States upheld in one,
 All laws excelled in one,
 All lives impelled by One—
 One Life, One Love.

* Bishop Gore, while expressing his full sympathy with the movement, declined owing to his many other engagements. At the first meeting of the Committee, Canon Wm. Temple was elected in his place. All the rest consent to serve.

DATE DUE

		~~SEP 10 '77~~	
	~~NOV 15 '81~~	~~DEC 16 '81~~	
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